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G. F. KELLNER & CO.

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EDITED BY E. LETHBRIDGE, M.A.

*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of
flourishing by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage
and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust
and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly
to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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N o. C X X I X.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—FOREIGN ADVENTURERS IN INDIA ...	1
„ II.—INDIAN EMIGRATION TO CEYLON ...	51
„ III.—SIX YEARS OF PUNJAB RULE— Punjab Administration Reports, 1871-1876 ...	75
„ IV.—THE BENARES RIOTS OF 18·9-1811 ...	92
„ V.—THE VALLEY OF THE INN :—I.—THE ENGADIN ...	120
„ VI.—SEVEN YEARS OF INDIAN LEGISLATION—	
1.—Acts of the Governor-General in Council, 1871-76. Calcutta, Government Press.	
2.—Selections from the Records of the Government of India—the production of Gold and Silver. Calcutta, Government Press : 1876.	
3.—The Punjab Administration Report for 1875-76	143
„ VII.—THE RENT QUESTION ...	161
„ VIII.—ISLAMISM AS IT IS :—I.—ITS SOCIAL ASPECT. By a European Haji ...	167
„ IX.—A CENTURY OF POLITICAL LIFE AND POLITI- CAL LITERATURE IN RUSSIA ...	188
POETRY :—	
THE COMPLAINT OF THE AFFLICTED CHURCH	201
CRITICAL NOTICES :—	

1.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Valika Vodhaka Part I. By Srimati Pratul Kumari
Dasi. Calcutta, 1282 B. S. Printed by Jogendra
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

Nº CXXIX.

ART.—I. FOREIGN ADVENTURERS IN INDIA.

AFTER the failures of the direct attempts made by Dupleix, by Lally, and by Suffren to establish French domination in Southern India, there remained to the Latin race but one mode of counteracting the progress of the English. That mode may be described in a few words. To enable the princes of India to meet the English successfully in the field it was necessary, above all things, to impart to their troops a thorough knowledge of European discipline and a complete acquaintance with the system of European strategy. To this somewhat venturesome task the sons of France bent themselves with untiring energy. They gave to it often their lives, almost always their every faculty. They had much to aid them. The native princes who employed them knew at least that their hatred of England was not feigned; that they had nothing so much at heart as the humiliation of the rival of their own country. They therefore gave them, almost always, a confidence without stint. Their behests were but rarely refused. They worked under the avowed sanction and with the authority of the prince whom they served. And if they did not succeed, their want of success is to be attributed rather to the jealousies which prevented combination amongst the native princes, than to any shortcomings on the part of the ablest and most influential amongst them.

Of all these adventurers, de Boigne was, with one exception, the ablest and the most successful. Born at Chambéry, the 8th March 1751, the son of a furrier, Benoit de Boigne was at an early age sent to study law at the college of his native town. But he had scarcely attained the age of seventeen when his adventurous nature impelled him to renounce his studies, and to seek excitement in a career of arms. In 1768, then, he entered the regiment of Clare, a regiment in the Irish brigade in the service of France, and then commanded, in the absence of Lord Clare, by Colonel Leigh. De Boigne joined the regiment with the rank of ensign at Landrecies, and applied all the ardour of his youth to master the science of his profession. In this task he received great encouragement and assistance from Colonel

Leigh, and under his tuition de Boigne attained a complete knowledge of the art of war as it was understood in those days.

After serving in garrison for three years and a half at Landrecies, the regiment of Clare was ordered to Dunkerque to embark for the Isle of France. The regiment, having taken its tour of duty in the island for eighteen months, returned to France, and, disembarking at L'Orient, was ordered to Béthune.

This happened in 1773. France was then at peace with all the world, and no prospect of war seemed to loom in the future. The promotion of de Boigne had been slow ; and, beginning to feel disgusted with a life so monotonous and so devoid of enterprise, he asked himself if it would not be advisable to seek another scene for the occupation of the abilities he felt that he possessed. It chanced that Russia was then at war with Turkey. The Russian Government was in the habit in those days of welcoming eagerly, instructed officers into the ranks of its army. De Boigne resolved, then, to resign his commission in the French service and to offer himself to her northern ally.

His resignation was accepted, and de Boigne went to Turin. Obtaining there letters of introduction to Count Orloff, who commanded the Russian land and sea forces in the Grecian Archipelago, he returned to Marseilles and embarked on board the first ship sailing thence for Greece. Almost immediately on his arrival there he was appointed captain in a Greek regiment in the service of the Empress Catherine. This regiment formed a part of the army employed in besieging the Island of Tenedos. A detachment of it, to which de Boigne belonged, having been sent to effect a descent on that island, the Turks made a sortie, attacked the invaders in great force, and cut them off nearly to a man. De Boigne escaped with his life, but was taken prisoner and sent first to Chio and thence to Constantinople.

Seven months later the war came to an end, and de Boigne, with the other prisoners of war, was released. He had then attained the rank of major in the Russian army. Peace, however, had closed for him the avenues of further advancement. De Boigne then quitted the Russian service and embarked for Smyrna. Meeting in that town some Englishmen who had returned from India, he was so struck by their description of the adventurous life of that country, that he resolved to seek his fortune there. Returning to Constantinople he made his way to Aleppo, and joined there a caravan just setting out for Basrá. The caravan reached Bagdad in safety, but, as a furious war was then raging between the Turks and the Persians, the road thence to Basrá was deemed too dangerous to be traversed, and the caravan returned to Aleppo.

From that place de Boigne made his way as quickly as he could back to Smyrna and sailed thence to Alexandria. In

his journey from Alexandria to Rosetta he was shipwrecked and fell into the hands of the Arabs. These, with characteristic hospitality towards a stranger, befriended him, and by their aid he was able to reach Cairo. Here innumerable delays occurred, and it was owing to the kindness of the English consul, Mr. Baldwin, that means were at last provided for him to reach India. He embarked at Suez and sailed thence at the end of the year 1777 for Madras.

Amongst those whom de Boigne had met in his European wanderings was an English nobleman, Earl Percy. With him he had formed a friendship, and Lord Percy had in consequence furnished him with letters to Lord Macartney and to Warren Hastings. On his arrival at Madras de Boigne wished at first to act independently of the British Government. But the circumstances of the time were against him. The British were on the eve of their last war with Haidar Ali, and it is natural to suppose that they should be unwilling to afford opportunities for foreign adventurers to find their way to the camp of that formidable leader. Having no other resource, then, de Boigne, who had been a major in the Russian service, accepted the rank of ensign in the 6th Regiment Madras Native Infantry.

The war broke out immediately afterwards. It happened that the 6th Regiment N. I. was one of those under the command of Colonel Baillie when that officer was attacked by the combined forces of Haidar and Tippú at Perambákam in September 1780. A few days before that fatal conflict, however, two companies of the 6th Regiment had been sent to escort supplies of grain to the main army. With these two companies was de Boigne, and in this manner he escaped the almost entire destruction which befell the main body of his regiment.

Shortly after this de Boigne quitted the English service. Various reasons have been assigned for this step.* But he himself undoubtedly stated the truth when he affirmed that in a service of progressive promotion there was at his age no chance of his ever attaining to high command. He resolved therefore to return to Europe by way of Kashmir, Afghánistán, and Persia.

With this object in view he came round to Calcutta and presented to Warren Hastings Lord Percy's letter and one with which he had been provided by Lord Macartney. That illustrious statesman gave him a warm and cordial reception; entirely approved of his design to return to Europe by the route he had indicated; and furnished him with letters to the British residents at the various native courts he would be likely

* *Vide* Ferdinand Smith's Sketch, and the *Memoire sur la carrière du* pages 67-68; the article de Boigne *Général Comte de Boigne.* in the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*;

to visit *en route*, as well as to the independent native princes in alliance with the British Government.

At Lakhnáo, the first city which he visited on his travels, de Boigne was extremely well received by the Nawáb, to whom he had been presented by the resident. Not only was a khilat of the value of 4,000 rupees bestowed upon him, but the Nawáb presented him likewise with a bill on the bankers of Kábul for 6,000 rupees, and another for an equal amount on those of Kándahár. At Lakhnáo de Boigne remained five months, making many friends amongst the English officers and studying their system. He then went on to Dehli, where he arrived at the end of the month of August.

The Emperor of Dehli at that time was Shah Alam ; his minister, Mirza Shaffi. Without the aid of the latter it was impossible for de Boigne to obtain an interview with the Emperor, and Mirza Shaffi was in the camp before Agra. Thither, accordingly, de Boigne repaired.

It was during his sojourn in this camp that de Boigne's ideas took a direction which influenced his whole life. Rebuffed by the minister, who refused to allow him to be presented to Shah Alam, he turned his attention to the political events passing before his eyes. Noting the rivalry of the various native princes, the indiscipline of their armies, the ignorance and want of knowledge of their generals, it occurred to him that a great career was open to an instructed European soldier. The unheavened masses were fermenting all about him. Let the instructed European soldier but procure for himself the authority to leaven but one of those masses, and his master would become the chief of all his rivals, if not indeed the ruler of India. The idea grew daily ; it ripened quickly into feasibility ; thenceforth the career of de Boigne was determined.

At that time the Ráná of Góhad was closely besieged in his fort by Mádhají Sindia. To offer himself to the latter, immensely superior in power to the Ráná, would have been a folly. In such a case even had Mádhají accepted his services, no credit to himself could possibly have resulted. But to enter the service of the besieged Ráná, and by skill and dexterity to paralyse the movements of his enemy, would be to gain a reputation and to acquire a moral power such as would open out the brightest prospects for the future. Thus reasoning, de Boigne made secretly the following proposition to the Ráná. He offered, in consideration of a certain stipulated sum of money, to raise two thousand men at Agra, one thousand at Jaspúr, four thousand at Dehli, and one thousand near Góhad ; to concentrate these troops with all imaginable secrecy at a point on the frontier of the Ráná's territory ; and with them to attack the besieging force in the rear, and drive it from his dominions.

The Ráná of Góhad, without declining this offer, did not at once accept it. He hoped rather to be rescued from his perilous condition by the intervention of the English. Meanwhile, however, he was not sufficiently careful to keep the secret. With the publicity he allowed to be imparted to the offer, the possibility of carrying it into execution vanished. De Boigne then broke off the negotiation, and offered his services to the Rájá of Jaipúr.

But before an answer could come from Jaipúr, de Boigne had accepted an invitation from Mr. Anderson, the British resident at the court of Mádhají, to visit him in his camp. Mádhají Sindia was then besieging Gwáliár. Thither accordingly de Boigne repaired, and agreed to remain there, the guest of Mr. Anderson, until he should receive the reply of the Rájá.

De Boigne received that reply at the end of October (1783). His offer was accepted. Before taking up the appointment, however, he thought it becoming to inform Warren Hastings officially of his intention to renounce his journey to Europe and to take service with the Rájá of Jaipúr. Warren Hastings, in reply, requested de Boigne to return in the first instance to Calcutta that he might inform him personally of the sentiments entertained by the Government of India regarding the course he proposed to pursue. De Boigne, though sensible of the arbitrary nature of this request, felt that his gratitude and his interest alike counselled him to comply with it. He returned accordingly to Calcutta,—no easy journey in those days. On his arrival there, Warren Hastings informed him that his requisition had been necessary because he, de Boigne, had given an official form to his letter, and that as such it had been laid before council; that as Governor-General in Council he could not give him authority to enter the service of a native prince, although, in his private capacity, he had no objection to his following such a course; and that if he chose to follow it, he would shut his eyes to his proceedings. The Governor-General added that he was about to set out for Lakhnáó, and that he hoped de Boigne would accompany him so far.

Armed with this power to act as he might think best, de Boigne accompanied the Governor-General to Lakhnáó, hastened thence to Agra, and obtaining there a small escort, pushed on towards Jaipúr. The difficulties, and they were not slight, which he encountered in his journey were surmounted, and in the spring of 1784 he reached Jaipúr.

But here disappointment awaited him. In the long interval which had elapsed between the acceptance of his offer and his arrival, the Jaipúr policy had changed. Peaceful counsels now prevailed, and the Rájá had no need of a general. To compensate de Boigne, however, for the trouble and expense which had been caused him, the Rájá presented him with ten thousand rupees.

Disappointed though not daunted, de Boigne repaired to Dehli. At this time the murder of Mirza Shaffi and the anarchy which had followed, had reawakened in the mind of Mádhají Sindia the hope of becoming master of the capital of the Moghols. He was fully sensible of the new difficulties which the power he might thus acquire would cause him: but, being able, farsighted, and ambitious, he was nursing his resources and seeking for means to meet the crisis which might arrive at any moment. At the time of de Boigne's arrival he was in the vicinity of Agra organising an expedition against Bandalkhand.

For this expedition de Boigne offered his services. He proposed to raise two regiments, each 850 strong: and to equip and organise them in the European fashion.

Mádhají knew de Boigne by reputation, and by something more. The offer he had made to the Ráná of Góhad had struck him at the time as betokening a daring and resolute nature; and, subsequently, when de Boigne had passed a night in his camp on his way to join Mr. Anderson, Mádhají had caused his tent to be pillaged. The property then taken was restored, but the papers were retained. It is probable that a perusal of these confirmed the impression which the Góhad scheme had given birth to. Such a man, he thought, could scarcely fail to be an acquisition. He accepted, then, after a short delay, de Boigne's offer.

The terms agreed to by de Boigne were that he should receive a thousand rupees a month for himself, and eight rupees a month for each man, officers and privates indiscriminately. To enable himself to give a proper salary to the officers, de Boigne fixed the pay of the privates at rupees 5-8-0 each. This arrangement provided him with rupees 4,250 monthly for the officers.

The men were speedily raised; but the drilling was a matter of more difficulty. De Boigne had resolved to teach them European drill, to arm them with European weapons, and to impart to them European discipline. "The labour which this imposed on an individual," writes Mr. Grant Duff, "can easily be conceived by any person acquainted with military affairs." It was, indeed, at the outset a task which required no ordinary patience, perseverance, and self-control. But at length he had the satisfaction of seeing the end attained. Five months after he had enlisted his men, he marched with two perfectly disciplined regiments to join, in Bandalkhand, the army commanded by Appa Khandé Ráo.

In the short campaign which followed, the two battalions under de Boigne constituted the entire infantry of the Márhátá army, the remainder being mainly cavalry and a few guns. As it was a campaign of sieges the brunt of the work fell, therefore, on his newly raised troops; and this work they performed with valour and

with success. In the midst of his triumphs, however, de Boigne was called away to join the main army of Mádhají at Dehli.

On the 22nd October 1784 the prime minister of the Emperor Shah Alam, Afrasiáb Khan, was murdered by the brother of the minister whose assassination he had instigated. In the terror that followed this murder all parties turned to Mádhají. The Emperor invested him with a power virtually supreme. By his advice the Peshwa was nominated Wakil-úl-Mútlúk or Supreme Deputy of the Empire. Mádhají was appointed Deputy of the Peshwa, Commander-in-chief of the Moghol armies, and the provinces of Agra and Dehli were confided to his management.

But Mádhají was not too elated by his success. He was well aware that the power which had been conferred by acclamation in a time of terror, of difficulty, and of danger, would be disputed as soon as men's minds had begun to calm. He therefore took instant measures to strengthen his position, and amongst other precautions he summoned de Boigne and his battalions from Bandalkhand.

To describe fully the events which followed could only be effected by trenching upon ground already occupied.* I must be satisfied with referring, as briefly as may be, to the deeds of de Boigne himself. Thus, in May 1787, he fought at Lálsót for three days under the eyes of Mádhají against the Patáns and Rajpúts, and when, on the third, the other infantry of Sindia's army, 14,000 in number, deserted to the enemy, de Boigne kept his men true to their colours. For eight consecutive days they continued, as they retreated, to repulse the enemy's attacks. At the battle of Chaksána, fought on the 24th April 1788 against the same enemies, Sindia confided the command of his right wing to a Frenchman, M. Lesteneau, and of his left to de Boigne, whilst the centre was commanded by a native, Sindia being in reserve with the cavalry. On this occasion de Boigne and Lesteneau not only repulsed the attacks made on their wings, but were prepared to render the victory decisive, had they been supported by the centre and the cavalry. But no prayers could induce either to advance, and the action, undecided, terminated by a retreat from the field. A few weeks later, however, an ample revenge was taken for these checks. On the 18th June, in the battle fought before Agra, the battalions of de Boigne and their leader contributed greatly to the victory obtained over the Patán chief. Less than four months later, de Boigne's battalions and the bulk of the Márhátá army re-occupied Dehli. Mádhají himself followed shortly after.

The splendid service rendered by the two battalions of de Boigne at Lálsót, at Agra, and at Chaksána, their fidelity when

* Keene's *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, a vivid and accurate account of the events in Hindustan from the death of Aurangzib to the beginning of the present century.

their irregular comrades had deserted, and their unvarying steadiness under fire, had particularly attracted the notice of Mádhají Sindia. But the prejudices of the Márhátá were still strong within him. When, therefore, de Boigne pointed out to him that these two battalions, though perfectly efficient, and capable even of retarding a defeat, were yet insufficient to decide the fortunes of a campaign; that it would be advisable to increase them to the strength of a *corps d'armée*, with artillery attached, Mádhají hesitated. Influenced partly, probably, by a dread to place in the hands of a European a small army obedient only to the orders of its immediate general; partly by the Márhátá leaning towards cavalry; partly also by the annihilation of his enemies and by the expense which the proposed scheme would entail, Mádhají resolved to defer his sanction. As, however, he indicated no fixed time for the announcement of a final decision, de Boigne regarded his reply as a veiled refusal. He therefore offered his resignation. Mádhají accepted it.

De Boigne left Dehli a comparatively rich man. It is stated that he owed the greater part of his wealth to the munificence of Mádhají, who thus showed his gratitude for the unequalled services rendered to him during the late campaigns. Certain it is that, renouncing his military career, he proceeded to Lakhnáo, and there on the advice of his old friend, Claude Martin, engaged in mercantile speculations which speedily augmented his capital. He was still engaged in these when he received from Mádhají pressing solicitations to re-enter his service, accompanied by an assurance that he would be at liberty to carry out the measures he had formerly proposed.

The fact was that Mádhají Sindia had not found his position by any means so assured as, in the first moment of his triumph, it had appeared to him. The Patán army had been beaten and dispersed, but its soldiers still existed. He was menaced from the north by the Afgháns, from the west by the Rajpúts, whilst he had perhaps even more to dread from the jealousy of Náná Farnawís, the minister of the Peshwa, and from the scarcely veiled hostility of the other chiefs of the Márhátás.

He felt the want, then, of just such a body of troops as de Boigne had proposed to raise,—troops who would surpass all his other troops in skill and discipline; who would obey one man, and that man impervious to intrigue, devoted to himself alone. In this extremity he bethought him of de Boigne; and upon that thought there speedily followed the missive of which I have spoken.

De Boigne was not deaf to the demand. Arranging, as speedily as was possible, his commercial affairs, which however he left in full action in the hands of agents, he hastened to Mathurá, where Mádhají then had his head quarters. His proposals

were at once agreed to. He was authorised to raise a *corps d'armée* consisting of thirteen battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and sixty guns.

De Boigne went to his task with his accustomed energy. He reclaimed the two battalions he had drilled and commanded before. A third battalion was formed of the soldiers who had been raised and drilled by the Frenchman, Lesteneau, but who, mutinying for arrears of pay, had, on the advice of de Boigne, been disbanded. He had to enlist men from Rohilkhand and Oudh for seven more battalions. All these were dressed and drilled on the European principle. But, in addition to these ten battalions, de Boigne raised three more of Afgháns, dressed in their national costume, and armed with matchlocks and bayonets. For the service of the camp he raised five hundred Mewatis, dressed and armed as irregular troops.

The *corps d'armée* thus consisted of 8,500 regular infantry, 2 400 Afgháns, 500 Mewatis, 500 cavalry and 100 artillerymen. Each regiment was commanded by a European officer. These officers were men of all nations, many of them British, and in many instances respectable by birth, education and character*. There were always two European officers to each regiment, sometimes more. The non-commissioned officers were in the first instance taken from the three disciplined battalions. The colours of the corps were the national flag, the white cross, of Savoy.

For its command de Boigne was granted a salary of Rs. 4,000 a month. To provide for this, as well as for the regular payment of the troops, Mádhají made over assignments of land to the charge and management of de Boigne, allowing him two per cent. upon the net revenue, in addition to his regular pay.†

By dint of great exertions the new *corps d'armée* was brought into a condition fitting it for active service early in the year 1790. An opportunity soon offered for the display of its efficiency. On the 20th June the Márhátá army engaged, near Patán, the Patáns under Ishmául Beg, aided by the Rajpút troops of Jaipur and Jódhpúr. The battle was obstinate and bloody. Holkar, who had promised to aid Mádhají, held aloof. The Patáns three times charged through the infantry of de Boigne, cutting down the artillerymen at their guns. But the coolness of de Boigne and the discipline of his troops soon repaired this disaster. With re-serried ranks they attacked the too daring enemy and drove him back. Then there opened on both sides a heavy artillery fire. This ceasing on the side of the Márhátás at 6 o'clock in the evening, de Boigne placed himself at the head of his infantry and led them to the charge. The attack was irresistible.

* Grant Duff, vol. iii., Chapter ii. each regiment was fixed at 700.
Subsequently the number of men in † *Ibid.*

One by one the hostile positions were carried. At 9 o'clock the enemy were in complete flight, utterly disorganised, having lost all their guns,—ten battalions of their infantry having previously surrendered.

De Boigne then received orders to invade Jódhpúr. He proceeded at once to the siege of Ajmír, but learning that the Rájputs had assembled a considerable army at Mírtá, he left about 2,700 men to blockade Ajmír and started to attack the enemy.

At daybreak on the 12th September, de Boigne assailed the enemy's position. By 9 o'clock he had obtained a complete victory. He gained this victory notwithstanding a false movement made by one of his lieutenants, and which for a time left his right wing exposed to the incessant charges of the Rahtór cavalry. The Savoyard, however, showed himself quite equal to the occasion. At 9 o'clock, as I have said, the Rájputs were beaten; at 10 o'clock their camp and all their guns and baggage were captured; at 3 P. M. the town of M'rtá was taken by assault. Peace followed this decisive victory.

Sindia had now satisfied himself as to the immense advantage he had derived from possessing a *corps d'armée* armed and disciplined on the European principle—and commanded by a de Boigne. The troops thus disciplined and thus organised had disposed of his Mahomedan and Rájput enemies, but he still looked for more at their hands. It must never be lost sight of that the great dream of Mádhají Sindia's life was to unite all the native powers of India in one great confederacy against the English. In this respect he was the most farsighted statesman that India has ever produced. But to bring about this great end it was necessary that, in addition to the power which he wielded at Dehli and in a part of Central India, he should be master of all the resources of the Máhátá empire. This he felt would be impossible until he could rid the Peshwa of the minister, Náná Farnawis, who was jealous of his reputation. Nor, he felt, could this end be obtained, unless he could dispose of Holkar, the agent and last hope of the Náná. His plan, then, was to crush Holkar; to proceed to Púna; and obtaining then from the Peshwa the requisite authority, to unite all India in a crusade against the English. It was a grand idea, one capable of realisation by Mádhají, but by him alone, and which, but for his death, would have been realised.

Full of these views, and preparing carefully for the conflict he saw looming in the future, Mádhají determined at this time to increase still further the force which had been so useful to him. De Boigne was authorised to increase it to 18,000 regular infantry, 6,000 irregulars, 2,000 irregular horse, 600 Afghán cavalry and 2,000 guns. The force thus raised was to be divided into three brigades, or, as it would be more proper to call them, divisions.

For their payment a tract of country between Mathurá and Dehli, and some lands east of the Jamna, comprising in all fifty-two districts yielding ultimately twenty-two lakhs of rupees, were assigned to de Boigne. That general was authorised to reserve to himself two per cent. of that revenue, in addition to his pay, now increased to 6,000 rupees a month, a sum which was doubled by other duly authorised emoluments. The fortress of Agra was assigned him as a depôt of small arms and cannon. Over these fifty-two districts, de Boigne was assigned, by Sindia, a power in civil and military matters entirely absolute. He fixed his headquarters at Aligarh.

It was while de Boigne was raising and drilling his brigades, casting guns, and bringing the districts under his sway into order; whilst Mádhají Sindia was endeavoring to arrange the scheme which was the dream of his later years, that war broke out between the British and Tippú Sultan. This war was a blow to Mádhají. He disapproved this isolated attack upon a power to which united India might only possibly be a match. Still more was he annoyed and enraged at finding that the Peshwa, guided by Náná Farnawís, had entered into an alliance with the common enemy. Nothing, Mádhají had always felt, could be more noxious to the general cause of the native princes of India, than the union of one chief with their most formidable rival to put down another chief. Still, for the moment, he was powerless to prevent this fatal action. He was forced to content himself with husbanding his resources, with guarding against an attack from the north, and with preparing his army for the great event to which he looked forward. Having done all that was possible in this respect, he set out for Púna, determined, after repressing Holkar, and unseating Náná Farnawís, to obtain the chief power himself, and, wielding it, to make one supreme effort to drive the British from Hindostan.

Mádhají left de Boigne and the greater part of his *crops d'armée* behind. He took with him as escort only two battalions commanded by Hessian and Filoze.* He arrived at Púna the 11th June 1793.

Scarcely, however, had Mádhají crossed the borders of his own territories than his enemies began to raise their heads. First, the widow of Najíf Khan, a former prime minister at the Imperial Court of Dehli, refused to surrender the fort of Kanúnd to Sindia's officers. De Boigne sent one of his brigades, under the orders of M. Perron, to compel her. The often-defeated Ishmáíl Beg raised troops to support her. He encountered Perron under the walls of Kanúnd, and though beaten, yet succeeded in pene-

trating into the fort with a considerable body of men. The defence was prolonged in consequence, but the widow having been killed, Ishmâil Beg, distrusting the garrison, surrendered himself and the fort to the French leader.

But this was not all. Taking advantage of the absence of Mâdhajî, Tûkajî Holkar, the minister of the famous Ahalya Bae, suddenly crossed the river Chambal in great force, and marched towards Rajpûtânâ, pretending that the aggressions of Mâdhajî's agent, Gopâl Râo Bhão, forced him to this act of open hostility.

Gopâl Râo Bhão had but a small force under him in Rajpûtânâ. Aware that Tûkajî was supported by a body of native troops armed and drilled in the European fashion, and commanded by the Chevalier Dudrenec, Gopâl Râo sent pressing messages to de Boigne, and to Lakhwa Dâdâ commanding the main body of Sindia's cavalry, to join him without delay. De Boigne set out at once from Aligarh at the head of nine thousand infantry and joined Gopâl Râo before the latter had been molested by Holkar. Lakhwa Dâdâ brought in his cavalry at the same time. De Boigne immediately assumed command of the combined force, consisting of 9,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and about forty guns, and forthwith marched upon the enemy. Tûkajî became now aware of the double mistake he had committed; in the first place, in becoming the aggressor; in the second, in not at once crushing the small force opposed to him. He did his utmost, then, to avoid a general engagement. But de Boigne was not to be denied. He followed him up vigorously, and at last, on the 20th September, had the satisfaction of finding himself in front of his enemy posted at the pass of Lakhairî on the road leading from Kanûnd to Ajmir.

Tûkajî and Dudrenec had under them four battalions of sepoys trained by Dudrenec, about thirty thousand irregulars, mostly cavalry, and thirty-eight guns. The position they occupied was very formidable. The pass of Lakhairî was extremely narrow; covered in front by wet ground, and impossible to be turned, both flanks being guarded by thick woods and rising ground.

De Boigne felt as he reconnoitred this strong position that he would have to employ all his resources. Yet his own position was not without some considerable countervailing advantages. His men were covered by tangled forests impervious to cavalry. His attack might fail, yet his position could not be forced. All other things being equal, victory must incline, he saw, to the side which possessed the greatest number of steady infantry. That side was his own.

There was nothing for it but to move straight on. He placed himself accordingly at the head of his tried battalions and batteries, and ordered them to advance. No sooner, however, did

they emerge from the forest than the enemy's artillery opened a tremendous and effective fire upon them. De Boigne continued, however, to advance, and his own guns were soon sufficiently clear of the jungle to take up a position and reply. But they had scarcely fired half a dozen rounds before an event happened which might have been fatal in its consequences. The fire from the enemy's guns caused the explosion first of one tumbril, and then immediately afterwards of twelve others contiguous to it. The effect might have been made decisive. Túkají at once launched forth his cavalry to make it so. But de Boigne was equal to the occasion. He caused his men to fall back rapidly into the jungle. They reached it before Túkají's cavalry, feebly handled, could attack them. A concentrated fire of musketry sent back the horsemen more rapidly than they had advanced. A charge from Sindia's cavalry completed their overthrow. Thenceforward they took no part in the contest.

The cavalry having disappeared, de Boigne once more advanced his infantry and his guns. This time there was no mistake. The pass was so narrow that not more than three columns could at a time pass. Covering these with five hundred Rohilla skirmishers, he crossed the wet ground and charged. But the battalions of Dudrenec did not give ground. They stood, and fought, and died at their post. But they were as one to three. The greatest number must inevitably prevail. And it happened so. After the most desperate conflict he had ever been engaged in, the troops of de Boigne stood the victors on the summit of that fatal pass! There was no one for them to pursue. The enemy's cavalry had disappeared, his infantry had died fighting; the guns had been captured!

This victory broke for a time the power of Holkar, and left Mádhabí undisputed master of the situation. De Boigne followed it up by marching against the Rájá of Jaipúr who had shown a disposition to take advantage of Holkar's outburst. De Boigne's movements were so rapid and his plans so well laid that the Rájá was glad to compromise by submission, based on the payment of his arrears of tribute, and an immediate sum of seventy lakhs of rupees. De Boigne then returned to Aligarh, marching by Alwar, the Rájá of which place had some years before displayed great loyalty to Sindia in very critical circumstances. Here he had an audience of the Rájá. An incident which occurred at this audience is thus related in de Boigne's memoirs. "One day when the Rájá gave audience to the general, whom he had made to sit near him, M. de Boigne observed the minister of the Rájá, who was standing behind his master, bend down and whisper into his ear some words in the Persian language—a language which the general did not understand. The Princep replied only by a sign

of disapproval, and by a look in which anger and indignation were painted. The general's vakíl turned pale. The conversation nevertheless continued as before, and the audience terminated without the general having conceived the least suspicion. But in going out of the palace he was informed by his vakíl—who knew Persian and who had overheard the words whispered by the minister—that the latter had proposed to the Rájá to assassinate de Boigne in the hall of audience” De Boigne took no notice of the incident.

The power of Mádhají Sindia was now consolidated in Hindostan. While his armies had been triumphing in Rájputáná his policy had been gaining ground at Púna, whither, on his request, de Boigne had expedited ten thousand of his trained infantry under the command of Perron. Mádhají, in fact, was on the point of crossing the threshold to attain which had been the dream of his later years. His plans had been successful everywhere; and he was on the eve of gaining the pinnacle which would have enabled him to form one vast combination against the English, when he was attacked by fever and died (12 February 1794).

With him the fabric raised with so much patience, so much skill, and so much foresight, fell to the ground. His successor, Daolat Ráo, was a boy of fifteen, with a character which, if unformed, still showed the germs of waywardness and of a want of self-control.

At the time of Mádhají's death, de Boigne was virtually governor of Hindostan. Daolat Ráo confirmed him in this appointment, and he held it, resisting the advances made him by the partisans of the blind Emperor, Shah Alam, till the end of 1795. In the interval, feeling his health weakened he had more than once asked permission to resign; but Daolat Ráo had as often begged him to remain. At last, at the end of 1795, he yielded to his urgent solicitations, and granted him permission to leave for Europe, still retaining him in his service.

De Boigne bade farewell to the officers of his army in February 1796, and set out for Calcutta. He took with him the regiment of cavalry which was his own peculiar property. He had offered this regiment to Sindia, but Daolat Ráo proposed to pay for it only on the return of de Boigne to India. On his way through Lakhnáo he offered it to the Nawáb, but they could not agree as to the terms. Finally he offered it to the English government; Lord Cornwallis took it on the general's own conditions. These were five hundred rupees for each horse, or for the entire corps, consisting of six hundred horses, one hundred camels, four pieces of light artillery, and some draught cattle, 3,60,000 rupees. The men at the same time entered the British service.

De Boigne embarked for Europe in September 1796, and

arrived in London in January 1797. There he married Mademoiselle d'Osmond, daughter of the Marquis d'Osmond. The marriage, however, was not happy. He remained principally in England during the Empire, but shortly after its fall he settled at the Villa Buisson near Chambéry. He spent the last years of his life in making a philanthropic use of the enormous fortune he had acquired. In Chambéry itself he built a theatre, and a college for the Jesuits, and embellished the town by new and handsome streets. When he died on the 21st June 1830 he left 1,200,000 francs to build a hospital for old men; 500,000 for a hospital for the insane; 300,000 for the permanent relief of beggars; 200,000 francs for new beds in other hospitals, and 100,000 francs for the education of young girls. To his wife he left a life income of 600,000 francs.

It is impossible to part with de Boigne without adding some details regarding his person, his character, and his mode of administration. The following somewhat prolix description was written by a contemporary, one who knew him personally, in the year 1797: * “De Boigne is formed by nature and education to guide and command: his school acquirements are much above mediocrity: he is a tolerable Latin scholar, and reads, writes, and speaks French, Italian, and English, with ease and fluency. He is not deficient in a general acquaintance with books, and possesses great knowledge of the world. He is extremely polite, affable, pleasant, humorous, and vivacious; elegant in his manners, resolute in his determinations, and firm in his measures; remarkably well versed in the mechanism of the human mind, and has perfect command over himself. To the political subtlety of the Italian school he has added consummate oriental intrigue; made his approaches to power in disguise, and only showed himself when too strong to be resisted. On the grand stage where he has acted a brilliant and important part for these ten years, he is dreaded and idolised, feared and admired, respected and beloved. Latterly the very name of de Boigne conveyed more terror than the thunder of his cannons. A singular instance of which I shall relate *en passant*. Najaf Kúli Khan in his last moments advised his Begam to resist in the fort of Kanúnd the efforts of his enemies, who would assuredly grasp, on his demise, at the small remnants of his patrimony; ‘resist,’ said he, ‘but if de Boigne appears, yield.’ He will be long regretted, long recollected in India. His justice was uncommon, and singularly well-proportioned between severity and relaxation. He possessed the happy art of gaining the confidence of surrounding princes and subjects. He was active and

* Letter of LONGINUS, to the *Telegraph* newspaper, dated 2nd January 1797.

persevering to a degree which can only be conceived or believed by those who were spectators of his indefatigable labours from the time he raised eight battalions till his departure from his station. I have seen him daily rise with the sun, survey his *Karkhāna* (arsenal), inspect his troops, enlist recruits, direct the vast movements of three brigades, raise resources and encourage manufacturers for their arms, ammunitions, and stores; harangue in his *darbar*, give audience to ambassadors, administer justice, regulate the civil and revenue affairs of a *Jaidud* (province) of twenty lakhs of rupees, listen to a multitude of letters from various parts on various important matters; dictate replies, carry on an intricate system of intrigue in different courts; superintend a private trade of a lakh of rupees, keep his accounts, his private and public correspondence, and direct and move forward a most complex political machine. All this he did without any European assistance. He used to say that any ambitious person who reposes confidence in another risks the destruction of his views * * * * * In person he is above six feet high, giant-boned, large limbs, strong featured, and with piercing eyes. There is something in his countenance which depicts the hero, and compels us to yield implicit obedience. * * * * * It has often been a subject of surprise to many how de Boigne could so long and so invariably aggrandise his power whilst many adventurers in the same line have repeatedly failed. Setting his talents, perseverance, and policy aside, there is another cause which is not generally known or considered. Other Europeans who have attempted the project which de Boigne realised, failed from the want of a fixed and sufficient fund to pay their troops. De Boigne's penetrating genius foresaw and obviated this fatal error. Soon after the establishment of his two brigades, he persuaded Mádhañí Sindia to consign some certain *pergunnahs* for their payments. This was done in 1793. A *Jaidud* producing sixteen lakhs per annum was granted for the expense of his army, which still continues appropriated to that purpose. * * * This *Jaidud* has been augmented by the attention and equity of de Boigne to twenty lakhs a year, and is in as high a state of cultivation as the most fertile parts of Banáras; and the ryots are as happy as sensual beings can be, abstracted from intellectual enjoyments."

This contemporary account is in many points confirmed by the remarks given in the memoir of his life published at Chambéry in 1829. "M. de Boigne," it is there stated, "did not limit his cares to the concerns of his army; he directed at the same time his attention to the provinces which Sindia had confided to him. He introduced into them the greatest order. The collection of the public revenue was indeed made by the military authorities according to the custom of the country. But the amounts to be

received had been settled with justice, and they were fixed. It was this that caused the collections to be realised with greater regularity and with less difficulty than is the case generally in India. He had two offices of account, the one serving to control the other. In one, the accounts were kept in French; in the other all the entries were written in Persian. At the end of each month the statement of receipts and expenditure was transmitted to the Government.

"It was inevitable that so many details, so multiplied and so varied, should occupy all the time of the general; but the importance of his mission and the desire by which he was actuated to carry it to a successful end inspired him with an activity which sufficed for everything. He used personally to inspect the works going on in the arsenal; to visit the parade ground daily, for some hours, there to make the troops manœuvre and to pass them in review. From the parade ground he used to return to his office, there to attend to administrative matters.

"As the army never ceased to be the particular object of his attention, his troops became formidable alike for their numbers and for their perfect discipline. On this subject we quote the honourable testimony of an English writer. "It was not the least of the advantages arising from General de Boigne's merit," writes the *Bengal Journal* of the 18th September 1790, "that, in his military capacity, he should have softened, by means of an admirable perseverance, the ferocious and almost savage character of the Márhátás. He submitted to the discipline and to the civilisation of European armies, soldiers who till then had been regarded as barbarians; and to such an extent did he succeed, that the rapacious license which had formerly been common amongst them came at last to be looked upon as infamous even by the meanest soldier."

Such was the opinion formed of de Boigne by those who lived in his times and who knew him personally. To us, who can look back on all that he accomplished, and who can form a tolerably accurate idea of the difficulties he must have had to encounter, he stands out as pre-eminently the foremost European figure between the departure of Warren Hastings and the arrival of Marquess Wellesley. It was de Boigne who made it possible for Sindia to rule in Hindostan, at the same time that he controlled the councils of Púna. It was through de Boigne alone that Mádhají's great dream, dissolved by his death, became possible of realisation. But for de Boigne the power of the Márhátás had never become so formidable, had never been able to offer a resistance to the British so determined and so prolonged. It was de Boigne who introduced into the North-

West Provinces the germs of that civil administration which the English have since successfully developed. I cannot do better, in concluding this sketch of his career, than to quote the apposite language of the historian of the fall of the Moghol Empire. "Though moving in an obscure scene," writes Mr. Keene,* "de Boigne was one of the great personages of the World's Drama; and much of the small amount of civil and military organisation upon which the British Empire of Hindostan was ultimately founded is due to his industry, skill, and valour."

II.

The commandants of the several brigades raised by de Boigne and his successors will now come under review. The first brigade, raised in 1792-3, was originally commanded by Colonel Fremont. He was succeeded in 1794 by Colonel Perron; the latter, in 1797, by Colonel Dugeon; he, the following year, by Colonel Duprat; Colonel Duprat, in 1797, by Colonel Sutherland, and Colonel Sutherland, in 1802, by Colonel Pohlmann.

The second brigade was originally commanded by Colonel Perron. On his transfer to the first brigade, in 1794, Major Gardner succeeded him. Major Sutherland replaced Gardner in 1795, and Major Pohlmann Sutherland in 1799. In 1802 Sutherland and Pohlmann changed places, and the following year Sutherland was replaced by Colonel Hessing.

The third brigade was raised in 1795. Its first commandant was Captain Pedrous. He was replaced in 1801 by Major Bourquin.

A fourth brigade was raised in 1803. Of this Colonel Dudrenez was the commandant. A fifth, raised the same year, was allotted to Major Browning.

Besides these there were, in 1803, attached to Sindia's army the following additional brigades: that of Filoze, consisting of eight battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and forty-five guns; that of Sombre, composed of six battalions of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and thirty-five guns; that of Shepherd, attached to Ambaji Inglia, numbering five battalions, five hundred cavalry and twenty-five guns.

Before proceeding to deal with the men whose names I have mentioned and some of whom filled a great part in the history of the period, I propose to give a detailed account of the internal economy of the brigades as finally settled by de Boigne.

A brigade was composed of eight battalions. Each battalion comprised within itself infantry and artillery. Each was com-

manded by a captain having under him a lieutenant, either European, or European by descent. A battalion had eight companies of infantry, each commanded by a subadar, aided by two jemadars, one kót havildar, three havildars, four naicks, and fifty-two sepoys. The artillery of the same battalion consisted of one sergeant-major (European) and five European gunners, one jemadar, one havildar, five naicks, thirty-five gólandáz, five tindals, thirty-five klássis, twenty bildars, thirty gáriwáns, four ironsmiths, and four carpenters. A battalion had also a native surgeon, and a complement of matsadís, water-carriers, and the like. Every battalion had four hundred and eight stand of arms, four field-pieces, one howitzer, five tumbrils, one hundred and twenty bullocks, and two native carts. Every gun had constantly ready with it three hundred rounds of shot and one hundred rounds of grape. A howitzer had fifty stone shells and fifty rounds of grape. The monthly pay of the native officers and men of a battalion was about four thousand five hundred rupees. The pay of the officers was as follows: A colonel received 3,000 rupees; a lieutenant-colonel 2,000; a major 1,200; a captain 400; a captain-lieutenant 300; a lieutenant 200; an ensign 150. These rates were increased fifty per cent. when the officers concerned were serving in the Dekhan. The men received, under the same circumstances, a proportional increase. Besides their pay, officers commanding brigades, whether colonels, lieutenant-colonels, or majors, received one hundred rupees a month as table allowance.

A brigade of eight battalions consisted of six thousand men. Besides the battalion complement of guns above detailed, the brigade had attached to it three battering guns and two mortars with men to serve them. Each had likewise two hundred irregular cavalry and five hundred irregular infantry (Rohillas).

The battalions were named after famous cities or forts, such as Dehli, Agra, Búrhánpúr. The men were disciplined according to the English regulations of 1780, then in force in the British army. The regular infantry were armed with muskets and bayonets, manufactured at Agra; the irregulars with match-locks and bayonets. The cavalry were well mounted. Seven hundred of them were armed with match-locks and swords; five hundred with carbines, pistols and swords; they were drilled in the European fashion.*

* I have taken all these details from a curious old book entitled '*A Sketch of the rise, progress, and termination of the regular corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the Service of the Native Princes of India,*

by Lewis Ferdinand Smith, late Major in Daolát Rao Sindia's Service. The book was published at the beginning of the century, and is very scarce.

I propose now to consider the *personnel* of these battalions and brigades. Of the first on the list, Colonel Fremont, I have been unable to collect any interesting details. He would seem to have been amongst the first Frenchmen who joined de Boigne, for I find him commanding a brigade of six battalions in 1792, and storming at their head the hill fort of Báláhárá, sixty miles to the east of Jaipúr. Again, in 1794, he commanded a brigade of eight battalions at an action which took place at Datrá in Bandalkhand. It is probable that he died shortly after that action, for in the year following it, the command of his brigade devolved on Perron, and his name ceases to be mentioned.

Perron was a very remarkable adventurer. He came out to India in the year 1774 as a common sailor on board the French frigate the *Sardaigne*. Being a man of energy, ambition, and strength of will, he quitted the naval service, and strove by various means to make a fortune in the country. It was not, however, till he made the acquaintance of de Boigne in 1789 that he very decidedly ameliorated his condition. De Boigne had just then acceded to the urgent solicitations of Mádhají Sindia by agreeing to re-enter his service. He was in want of officers. Struck by the energetic temper displayed by Perron, he offered him the post of captain-lieutenant in his second brigade. Perron jumped at the offer, and at once distinguished himself and won the heart of his chief by his attention to duty, his courage, and his activity. The camp became his world, and he devoted himself with all the ardour of his nature to take a leading part in it. He distinguished himself so much at the battles of Mirtá and Patán, that de Boigne soon after entrusted him with an independent command. He was sent in 1792 with his brigade to reduce the fort of Kanúnd. How he succeeded on this occasion I have related in the preceding section. For this service he was promoted to the rank of major. He then rejoined de Boigne and was present at the well-contested battle of Lakhairí. The following year he was detached by his chief at the head of his brigade to Púna, to take there also the command of the troops which had accompanied Mádhají Sindia to that court under the command of Hessaing and Edoze. His whole regular force amounted then to 18,000 men. He was at Púna when Mádhají died (12 February 1794).

Into the intrigues which immediately followed the succession of Daolat Ráo Sindia it is not necessary here to enter. It will be sufficient to state that the unsettled condition of affairs at the court of the Peshwa roused the ambition of Nizám Ali Khan, the Nizám of Haidarabád. This intriguing prince was induced to believe the power of the Mahomedan rule might be revived

in the ruins of Púna. He accordingly assembled an army at Bíd'r, and advanced thence towards the Márhátá frontier.

Nizám Ali had some reason for his confidence. Besides some seventy thousand irregular infantry he had serving in his army fifteen thousand regulars, commanded by a very famous Frenchman, M. Raymond, a man who had served under Bussy, and whose name still lives revered in the Dekhan. To support these Nizám Ali led into the field twenty thousand horsemen and a due proportion of artillery.

To meet this formidable invasion the Peshwá summoned all his vassal chieftains. Daolat-Ráo Sindia brought 25,000 men; Rághují Bhonslé 15,000; Holkar 10,000; Paréshrá'm Bháo 7,000. Other contingents increased the total number to 130,000; and besides these there were 10,000 Pindáris.

But the great strength of the Peshwá's army consisted in the brigades commanded by the *quondam* French sailor Perron had ten of de Boigne's trained battalions, amounting with cavalry and artillery to about 10,000 men. There were also serving under his orders six battalions commanded by Filoze, amounting with guns and cavalry, to about 5,000 men; and four by Helsing, amounting to 3,000.

Holkar, too, brought similarly trained troops unto the field, *viz.*, four battalions of about 3,000 men, commanded by the Chevalier Dudrence; and two of 1,500 led by Major Boyd.

The two armies met midway between the forts of Kairlá and Parindá. The battle which ensued was the first great departure since the death of Mádhají Sindia from the policy of that great statesman; the first marked deviation from his principle of one general alliance against an enemy who would otherwise destroy them piecemeal. It was fought the 12th March 1795. The Márhátás occupied a defensive position, of which Perron's troops formed the left. On the high ground near him Perron had placed his artillery, and he supported this arm by the infantry and cavalry in the plain below. The troops of Dudrence and Boyd were with Holkar in the centre.

The battle began by an advance of the Mahomedans on the right wing and centre of the Márhátás. The attack completely succeeded. The Márhátá right wing was driven on to its centre, at the same time that the centre itself was completely broken by the steady advance of Raymond's drilled troops. Both wings fled in confusion, carrying Dudrence's and Boyd's men with them, and endeavouring to seek a refuge behind the still unbroken left. Towards this left, covered and supported by a cavalry flushed with victory, Raymond now advanced. Perron allowed him to approach almost within musket-shot, and then suddenly opened a concentrated and continuous fire from the thirty-five guns loaded

with grape which he had placed on the eminence. At the same moment Rághújí Bhonslé assailed the Mahomedan cavalry with a shower of rockets, the materials for firing which he had maintained on the ground during the general flight of the right wing. This simultaneous discharge sent the Moghol cavalry to the right-about. Raymond's infantry, however, not only stood firm, but succeeded for a time in making a successful opposition to all the efforts of Perron. It is difficult to say how the battle would have ended had Nizám Ali been endowed with the most ordinary qualities of a leader. But like most Asiatic commanders he trusted only to his horsemen. When, then, these fled, he fled with them, sending order after order to Raymond to follow him. Meanwhile the Márlhátá horse, rallying, were hastening to support Perron. Raymond, then, most unwillingly was forced to follow his master. He did so, however, in the most perfect order, prepared to renew the fight the next day. An accident, however, converted the retreat during the night into a complete rout.* Three days later a humiliating accommodation was forced upon the pusillanimous Nizám.

The battle of Kardlá, if it crushed the Nizám, gave by its results, fuller impetus to the intrigues going on at Púna, and these received a further accession of force by the untimely death of the youthful Peshwá, Madhú Ráo (October 25th, 1795). An account of these intrigues would be foreign to my present subject. A few months after the Peshwá's death de Boigne resigned to Perron the command of the armies of Sindia in Hindostan.

The fortunate man who had left France as a common sailor now ruled and administered in the name of Sindia the country from Lahore to Kotá and between Aligarh and Jodhpúr. He possessed greater power than any European had till that time possessed in Hindostan. This power he used, according to contemporary authority, in such a manner "as to aggrandise his authority and his riches"† In his admirable work on the Fall of the Moghol Empire, Mr. Keene has extracted from a record published by order of the local Government, a passage bearing upon the mode in which Perron's administration was conducted. "Perron,"

* This accident is thus related by Grant Duff (vol. iii, chapter vi). "In the stillness of night a small patrol of Márlhátás, in search of water for their horses, came by chance to a rivulet where lay a party of Moghols who, discovering what they were, instantly fired upon them. Raymond's sentries who were in the neighbourhood, also fired, when their whole line, who lay on their arms,

with their muskets loaded as they had retreated, started from their sleep and instantly fired a sort of irregular volley. The alarm which such a discharge of musketry occasioned, in the state of the Moghol army at that moment, may be conceived."** Nizám Ali in perfect consternation sought refuge within the walls of Kurdá."

† Major Ferdinand Smith, before referred to.

says this record*, which I extract from Mr. Keene's book, "succeeded in erecting" (a principality) "for the maintenance of the army, and reigned over it in the plenitude of sovereignty. He maintained all the state and dignity of an oriental despot, contracting alliances with the more potent Rájás, and overawing by his military superiority the petty chiefs. At Dehli, and within the circle of the imperial dominions, his authority was paramount to that of the emperor. His attention was chiefly directed to the prompt realization of revenue. Pargannahs were generally formed; a few were allotted as *jaidad* to chiefs on condition of military service; the revenue (of the lands in the neighbourhood of Aligarh) was collected by large bodies of troops always concentrated at head-quarters. A brigade was stationed at Sikandrabad for the express purpose of realizing collections. In the event of any resistance on the part of a landholder, who might be in balance, a severe and immediate example was made by the plunder and destruction of his village; and blood was not unfrequently shed in the harsh and hasty measures which were resorted to. The arrangements for the administration of justice were very defective; there was no fixed form of procedure, and neither Hindú nor Mahomedan law was regularly administered. The suppression of crime was regarded as a matter of secondary importance. There was an officer styled the Bakhshí Adálat whose business was to receive reports from the Amils (officials) in the interior, and communicate General Perron's orders respecting the disposal of any offenders apprehended by them. No trial was held; the proof rested on the Amil's report, and the punishment was left to General Perron's judgment."

The vacillating character of Daolat Ráo Sindia imposed upon Perron difficulties of a character different from those over which de Boigne had triumphed. Daolat Ráo possessed none of the foresight, none of the power of comprehensive view, for which his adoptive father was so famous. The influence wielded by the latter, and inherited for the moment by Daolat Ráo, was frittered away in contests for secondary objects at Púna. Gradually the tried adherents of Mádhají fell away from his successor, and Perron was then called upon to meet as enemies in the field the men who had been the allies and followers of de Boigne.

Foremost amongst these men was Lakhwá Dáda. Lakhwá Dádá was a Márhátá Brahman. He had distinguished himself in the service of Mádhají in 1788 by his brilliant and successful defence of Agra against the Patán leaders. He had fought side by side with de Boigne on many a well-contested field, and especially in the bloody battle of Lakhairí. To none of his adherents

* *Aleegurh Statistics.* By J. R. Hutchinson and J. W. Sherer.

had Mádhájí shown greater confidence. Such was the man, clever influential, and far-sighted, whom Daolat Ráo, actuated by the suspicion that he had connived in the escape of the widows of his predecessor from the prison to which he had consigned them, deprived of his power and dismissed from all his employments.

In those days arbitrary power could not always be exercised with impunity towards a clever and influential servant of the State. Lakhwá Dádá knew that a great many powerful vassals were impatient of the yoke of Daolat Ráo; that they wanted only a leader. He threw himself into their ranks, was recognised as their chief, raised a powerful army, repeatedly defeated the troops sent against him, and reduced all the country from Ujain to Sironj* Agra, too, the place in which in his younger days he had won his spurs, fell into the hands of his adherents.

Perron had not been blind to the events occurring in his government. In Agra were his arsenals, his magazines, his manufactories. To Agra, then, he marched, at the head of his whole available force. He was joined before the place by Ambají Inglia, one of Daolat Ráo's principal officers, at the head of a large body of cavalry.

Agra resisted long, but Lakhwá Dádá was not there to defend it in person, and in the end it surrendered. Perron then marched against Lakhwá Dádá, who had by this time mastered nearly two-thirds of Rájputáná. The hostile forces met at Sondia, in the Datiá territory, on the 31d May 1800. The disciplined battalions prevailed. Lakhwá Dádá was beaten, and so severely wounded that he died shortly after.

Rid of this formidable adversary Perron had time to turn his attention to George Thomas, an adventurer who had almost succeeded, single handed, in firmly establishing an independent principality in northern India. Thomas was a very remarkable man. An Irishman by birth, Thomas had come out to India as a common sailor on board of an English man-of-war about the year 1782. Deserting from his ship as she lay anchored in the Madras roads, he had wandered about the Carnatic, and had finally taken service under the Bégam Sombre. A bold, indefatigable, active man, endowed with great natural abilities and a large share of common-sense, possessing, too, a handsome person and a winning manner, Thomas was just the man to rise to distinction under such a mistress. Opportunities did not fail him. In April 1788, when the contingent of the Bégam was serving under the orders of the Emperor Shah Alam at the siege of Gókalgarh, Thomas was fortunate enough to save the Emperor from death or a worse

captivity. For five years Thomas continued in the service of the Bégam, and it is probable that, as time went on, he began to aspire to a position of a more intimate character. But, if he did entertain such a hope, he was disappointed. A Frenchman, named Le Vaisseau, supplanted him. Thomas upon this left the Bégam's service and set up for himself. He went first to the village of Anúshahr where was stationed the frontier brigade of the English force. From this place he corresponded with Appú Khandí Ráo, an influential officer in the service of Sindia. The correspondence ended by Thomas obtaining from his friend the investiture of a few villages in Máhrátá territory. Subsequently Thomas obtained permission to conquer and administer the district of Hariáná, a part of the country so neglected and desolate that up to that time no one had considered it worth taking. He first succeeded in taking a large village in Haráná. His subsequent proceedings are thus described by a personal friend and contemporary.* "Thomas commenced his ambitious career in 1794, after he left the Bégam Sombre's service, by collecting a few men near Delhi, with whom he stormed a large village. The little money he acquired from this village laid the foundation for his future hopes and prospects: he made a few guns, enlisted more men, raised two battalions, and besieged parts of the desolated country of Hariáná * * * He increased his forces by plunder; the brass and copper vessels he found in the towns and villages were melted into cannon, and cannon procured him money. Thus he proceeded some time, gradually raising his forces as he augmented his means to pay them, until 1797, when they amounted to four battalions. He then cleared away the jungle from the abandoned fort of Hánsí, and put it in a state of defence. His range of depredations now became more extensive and his resources greater. At last, in 1801, he raised his party to ten battalions with sixty pieces of cannon, and secured a country to himself of three lakhs a year."

Such, in brief, is the outline of the history of the rise of George Thomas. But there are other details, not uninteresting, which served to help him on. Such was his adoption by Appú Khandi Ráo immediately subsequent to their joint visit to Delhi in 1794 to receive investiture of their fiefs from the local representative of Daolat Ráo Sindia. It was on this occasion that Appú Khándí conferred upon Thomas the right to occupy Hariáná, and extended the powers he had previously granted to him. Another characteristic incident of this part of his career was the restoration by his means of his old mistress, the Bégam Sombre, now once more a widow, to the principality of which she had been deprived by the

* Major Ferdinand Smith.

intrigues of her officers. A third, the invariable fidelity and forbearance he displayed towards his adoptive father, notwithstanding the repeated intrigues, amounting often to treachery, indulged in by the latter. Latterly he recognised Ambají Ingliá, the favourite general of Sindia, as his most trusted ally.

Before proceeding to the events which brought Thomas into collision with Perron, I propose to devote a few lines to the manner of his administration of Hánsi and its surrounding district. The story is best told in his own words.* "Here," writes he in his memoirs, "I established my capital, re-built the walls of the city, which had long since fallen to decay, and repaired the fortifications. As it had been long deserted, at first I found difficulty in procuring inhabitants, but by degrees, and gentle treatment, I selected between five and six thousand persons, to whom I allowed every lawful indulgence. I established a mint, and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country; cast my own artillery, commenced making muskets, match-locks, and powder; * * * till at length," he goes on to say, "having gained a capital and country bordering on the Sikh territories, I wished to put myself in a capacity, when a favourable opportunity should offer, of attempting the conquest of the Panjáb, and aspired to the honour of placing the British standard on the banks of the Attock." No ignoble aspiration, indeed, for a deserter from a British man-of-war!

It was no idle dream however. Thomas had, in fact, already left his own territory to make the attempt, and he was actually within four marches of Lahore, when he received an express to the effect that his principality of Hariáná was menaced by Perron.

The fact is that Perron, wielding the power of Sindia in Hindostan, having crushed Lakhwá Dádá, was not disposed to brook the establishment so near to Delhi of an independent power, and that power wielded by a native of Great Britain. He accordingly sent to Thomas a summons to repair to Delhi, there to do homage as a vassal of Sindia. Anticipating his refusal he massed ten battalions and two thousand horse at Delhi. Thomas, foreseeing what was in store for him, replied by an indignant refusal, at the same time that he made every effort to return and cover his capital. Marching thirty or forty miles a day he succeeded in reaching Hánsi before Perron had moved out of Delhi.

But Perron had committed himself too far to retreat. He had allied himself with the Sikhs and obtained from them assistance alike in men and money. Thomas likewise had formed alliances with his old friend the Bégam Sombre, with the Rájás of Jaipur and Alwar, and with Lafontaine, who commanded six battalions

* Francklin's *Life of George Thomas*.

of Filoze's brigade in the service of Sindia. Reinforced by the troops received from these quarters he met Perron's army at Báhádugarh, eighteen miles to the west of Dehli. Neither party was very confident of success. Perron thought, moreover, that it might be possible to arrange matters satisfactorily without having recourse to the doubtful arbitrament of a battle. He therefore commissioned one of his officers, Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith,* to repair to the camp of Thomas, and to offer him sixty thousand rupees a month for his troops, the rank of colonel for himself, and the fort of Hánsi in perpetuity, provided he would take service under Sindia, and acknowledge Perron as his chief. Thomas, though unwillingly, consented to discuss these terms at a personal interview.

There were many reasons which combined to dissuade Thomas from the offered accommodation. Intelligence had but just reached him of the defeat of Daolat Ráo's troops at Ujjén, and of his precipitate retreat on Búrhánpúr. Letters, too, had come in from Jeswant Ráo Holkar urging him to attack Perron, and promising him aid in men and money. Recruits, too, were on their way to join him, whilst he knew that Sindia was demanding reinforcements from Perron. His policy was plainly to temporise until he should possess a manifest superiority. This, indeed, was the course that recommended itself to his clearer vision. But the demand made by Perron at the interview, that he should divide his force and send one-half to the assistance of Sindia maddened him to such an extent that he broke off the conference and hastily retreated to Hánsi.

On the breaking up of the conference Perron returned immediately to Aligarh, called thither by the necessity of attending to the urgent requisitions of Sindia, leaving his force before Báhádugarh under the command of Major Bourquin, then acting as commandant of the third brigade. This officer at once despatched Major Smith to besiege Georgegarh, a fort which had been built by Thomas, about seventy miles from Hánsi, whilst he himself should cover the siege. Thomas, however, noticing the distance of the covering from the besieging force, broke up suddenly from Hánsi, fell upon Smith and completely defeated him. What he might have accomplished may be gathered from Major Smith's own words: "I was attacked," he writes,† "by Thomas with eight battalions, compelled to raise the siege and retreat to Jajar, four *coss* (eight miles) to the east of Georgegarh; favoured by the obscurity of the night, I was not completely cut

* It is from the memoirs of this officer, an actor on the scene, that I have gleaned the details which follow.

† *Sketch of the rise and progress of regular corps under Sindia, by Major L. F. Smith.*

off, and made good my retreat, with the loss of one gun and one-third of my force killed and wounded. How I escaped total destruction I do not yet know. Why Thomas did not follow my retreat I cannot say; for if he had continued the pursuit I must have lost all my guns, and my party would have been completely destroyed."

After raising the siege Thomas threw himself into Georgegarh, the defences of which he strengthened. Here he was attacked on the 29th September by Bourquin's troops, who had marched seventy miles in the thirty-six hours almost immediately preceding the assault. "Bourquin," writes Major Smith, "did not lead the attack himself, but prudently remained with the cavalry, two thousand yards in rear of George Thomas's line. The seven battalions of de Boigne, with calm intrepidity advanced with their guns through heavy sand, exposed to a dreadful and well-directed fire of fifty-four pieces of cannon, and attacked Thomas's ten battalions in their entrenchments; but they were repulsed with the severe loss of one thousand one hundred men killed and wounded, which was nearly one-third of their number. ** Thomas's loss was not so great, as the guns of de Boigne's battalions were mostly dismounted by their recoil on the sand, when fired, which snapt their axle-trees."

"Had Thomas," adds Major Smith, "taken advantage of Bourquin's ignorance and folly, and sallied out on the beaten troops of Perron, he would have overturned his power, but Thomas at this critical moment was confused and confounded." Thomas, indeed, took no advantage of their repulse. He remained shut up in Georgegarh waiting for the reinforcements promised by Holkar, and which never came; for before the period then passing, the power of Holkar, though he knew it not, had been temporarily annihilated at Indúr.

Meanwhile reinforcements poured into the besiegers' camp. The incapable Bourquin was superseded by Colonel Pedrons, and he turned the siege into a blockade. This lasted for seven weeks. Reduced then by famine and desertion, having spent his ammunition and finding his remaining troops utterly disorganised, Thomas saw that the end was at hand. Rather, however, than surrender he mounted—the night of the 10th November 1801—his Persian horse, and accompanied by his only two European officers, Captain Hearsey and Lieutenant Birch, and some troops, rode away, hoping to reach Hánsi by a circuitous route. The party, though attacked and pursued, arrived safely at Hánsi on the third day.

Colonel Pedrons consigned to Bourquin the task of finishing the war. The latter followed up Thomas to Hánsi, laid siege to the place, and though Thomas defended himself stoutly, there could be no doubt of the ultimate issue. An offer made by a portion of

the garrison to betray their leader brought matters to a crisis. Major Smith was again detached to communicate with Thomas, to inform him of the treachery of his troops, and to offer him honourable terms. These terms assured him freedom of action for himself within British territory with the safe conduct of the property still remaining to him. Thomas accepted the conditions (1st January 1802), and proceeded towards Calcutta with the intention of returning to his native land with the wreck of his fortune, amounting then, according to Major Smith, to a lakh of rupees. He died, however, on his way down, near Berhampûr, in the burying-ground of which place he was interred. His career, records the friend already quoted, "was more worthy of astonishment than imitation."

Perron was now complete master of the situation. He had beaten all his master's enemies in Hindostan; his master's troops had triumphed in Ujjén. But his double triumph had similarly affected both master and servant. They showed, in this crisis of their fortunes, that prosperity was fatal to them. It exalted their pride and weakened their judgment.

Perron had had no education, no mental training; he was not gifted with a large mind. A self-made man, he had raised himself from the position of a common sailor to a post which was, in fact, second only to one other in India, and, so long as he had enemies to fight, the animal vigour of his nature had a fit field for its display. But with the dispersion of his enemies the scene of action for that animal vigour disappeared, and his mental power was more largely called upon. In this respect Perron was weak. He began to show undue contempt for the native chieftains, an unjust partiality for his own countrymen; to further his own private interest only; to look upon the interests of Sindia as secondary, not to be placed in the balance against his own.

It was not long before the action based upon such views raised a storm against him. One after another the native chiefs and leaders complained to Sindia of the arrogance and grasping character of his French lieutenant. To meet the storm raised by these denunciations, Perron proceeded at the end of 1802 to the court of Daolat Ráo, then held at Ujjén. He proposed to himself three objects in this visit. The first, to ascertain the views of Colonel Collins, the British resident, then at Sindia's Court; the second, to ascertain by personal examination how far Colonel Sutherland, who commanded the second brigade, and whose character he dreaded, was likely to supplant him; the third, to destroy the effect of the intrigues of Sákharáin Ghatgay, Sindia's father-in-law, and of the other chiefs who were hostile to him. Should he find the position too strong for him he had resolved to resign his office.

Perron did not resign. He presented to Daolat Ráo a *nazzar* of five lakhs of rupees,—and seemed to triumph. After a stay of a few weeks only at Ujjén he returned to Aligarh with his former power confirmed. An incident occurred shortly afterwards, however, which roused all his fears and suspicions.

The student of Indian history of that period will recollect that the defeat of Sindia's army by Jeswant Ráo Holkar near Púna on the 25th October 1802 had caused the Peshwá to fly in trepidation from his capital. From Severndrúg, where he had taken refuge, the Peshwá addressed pressing solicitations to Sindia, still in camp at Ujjén, to come to his aid. It may freely be asserted that the fate of India was at that moment in the hands of Daolat Ráo. Had he marched to the aid of his suzerain, not only would no treaty of Bassein have been signed, but he would have attained, with one bound, the influence and power of his predecessor.

Daolat Ráo cast away the opportunity,—never to recur. Why did he do so? Was it, as he gave out, that he was not strong enough, or did he doubt the intention of the Peshwá to throw himself, unless relieved, in the hands of the British?

A glance at the relations between Daolat Ráo and M. Perron at this period will tend to elucidate the question. Perron had hardly returned to Aligarh before he received from Daolat Ráo a pressing requisition to send him another brigade, as with his then force he was not strong enough to march to the assistance of the Peshwá. Daolat Ráo had then three brigades with him; one, belonging to Perron's force, commanded by Sutherland; one, an independent brigade, commanded by Filoze; and a third belonging to the Bégam Sombre. Perron had with himself three brigades. When, therefore, he received the requisition to send one of these to Ujjén, he thought he read in the order a resolution to despoil him of his power. Although, then, he saw that the moment was critical, that by delaying to comply he risked the independence and even the existence of the Máhrátá empire, yet regard for his own interests and the dread of throwing too much power into the hands of Daolat Ráo, caused him to hesitate for three months. When at last he did comply, the favourable moment had passed, and the Peshwá had thrown himself into the arms of the British Government for protection. In February 1803 Perron despatched to Ujjén the fourth brigade under Dudrenec, and half of the newly raised fifth brigade under Brownrigg. But it was too late. The treaty of Bassein had been signed.

The treaty of Bassein precipitated the conflict between Sindia and the British. It roused Daolat Ráo to a sense of his errors. In that treaty he saw not only the subversion of the vast plans

of his predecessor, but a threat against himself. Though invited to become a party to the defensive portion of the treaty he distinctly refused. Then probably for the first time in his life he understood the conception of Mádhaji, finding himself as he did face to face with the dangers which Mádhaji's scheme would have rendered impossible. Then he bestirred himself ; then, at last, he sought to weld union amongst the Máhrátás against the common foe. But he was too late. Holkar refused to join him. His preparations, though he sought to conceal and did deny them, were too patent. The Governor-General of India, Marquess Wellesley, resolved then to anticipate him, and to bring the matter to the arbitrament of the sword. War was declared, and on the 8th August 1808, an English force under General Lake crossed the frontier of Sindia's territory and marched straight on Aligarh.

Perron was at Aligarh, but he was as a general without an army. The main body of the troops were with Daolat Ráo ; others were not at the moment amenable to his orders. He had with him at the time but 2,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry.

But there were other evils threatening him which Perron dreaded far more than a deficiency of troops. His conduct in the early part of the year, which I have detailed at length, had roused all the suspicions of Daolat Ráo. His disgrace, again imminent, was hastened by the present of fifteen lakhs of rupees made by Ambají Ingliá to Daolat Ráo as the price of the Subadárship of Hindostan. Ambají was one of the great chiefs whom Perron had insulted, and from whom he could expect no mercy. His rival would have drained his purse if not his life's blood.

Perron could not even trust the commanders of his brigades, Dudrence, on his way back from Ujjén to Aligarh, was far more attached to Ambají than to him ; Bourquin, who at the moment had the second and third brigades under his orders, threw off his allegiance. But one chance remained, and that was to make the best possible terms with the British.

To this course Perron resigned himself. When, on the 29th August (1803) General Lake marched on the village of Aligarh, a splendid opportunity offered to Perron to charge it with the 8,000 horse he had under his command. He did not seize it. He gave no orders. His men were paralysed by his indecision, and a few rounds from the galloper guns sent them flying in all directions. Perron fled with them, directing his course first to Hatrás, thence to Mathurá. From this latter place he sent on 5th September a proposal to the English general to surrender on receiving an assurance of protection for his person and his property.

Lord Lake acceded to the proposal. Whereupon Perron, having first sent his family to Agra, slipped quietly across the river, and

making his way to Sasní threw himself under the protection of the British detachment stationed there. Thence he was allowed to proceed with his family and his property to Chándarnagar. From that time he and his affairs ceased to interest the Indian world.

III.

Amongst the French officers mentioned in the preceding section is Colonel Pedrons. He must have joined de Boigne early, as he raised and commanded the third brigade in 1795. The next mention I find of him is of so late a date as 1800. In that year, when Perron was engaged in besieging the fort of Agra, Pedrons, then a major, was despatched with eight battalions to attack and annihilate Lakhwá Dádá in Bandalkhand. In this enterprise he was assisted by Ambají Ingha with some irregular infantry and five thousand horse. He found, however, Lakhwá Dádá so strongly posted, that though the latter had only six thousand horse, three thousand Rohillas, and two hundred drilled sepoy* under his command, Pedrons was afraid to attack him. He spent two months in fruitless reconnoitering. At the end of that time Perron himself came down and crushed Lakhwá Dádá with one blow (3rd May 1800.) We next hear of Pedrons as relieving Bourquin in the campaign against Thomas. The part he then took has been already related. His final act was the defence of the fort of Aligarh against an English army under Lord Lake.

I have already stated that when the English army marched on Aligarh Perron had with him only 2,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. The infantry he threw into the fort, the command of which was confided to Pedrons.

Lord Lake's first act was to summon Pedrons to surrender. Pedrons in becoming terms refused. Lord Lake, then, finding that to attack it in regular form would give the enemy time to concentrate their forces to oppose him, resolved to attempt a *coup-de-main*.

It was a daring experiment, for Aligarh was strong, well garrisoned, and the country round it had been levelled. It had but one weak point, and that was a narrow passage across the ditch into the fort. This passage was, however, guarded by a strong gateway, and three other gateways had to be forced before the body of the place could be entered. To resolve to

* These 200 sepoy were drilled and commanded by Major Tone, "an unfortunate gentleman," says Major Smith "whose abilities and integrity were as great as his misfortunes were severe." Major Tone was subsequently shot through the head, whilst serving under Holkar, at an action near Cholí Máhásúr, in 1802. He wrote a valuable work called 'Letters on the Máhárátá people.' (Ferdinand Smith)

attempt such a place by a *coup-de-main* required no ordinary nerve. The whole future of the campaign depended on the success of the storm. Should it fail, all India would rise up against the English; should it succeed, the Máhrátá Empire would receive its death-blow.

But throughout his career Lord Lake always acted on the principle, so often referred to in these articles, that "boldness was prudence." He stormed and carried Aligarh. By that success he paralysed the Máhrátá confederacy. To use the words of a contemporary writer then in the service of Sindia, "it was a mortal blow to the Máhrátá war: it struck a panic into the minds of the natives and astonished all the princes in Hindostan: it gave them dreadful ideas of European soldiers and European courage."

Pedrons was taken prisoner at Aligarh. From that time he disappeared from the scene.

The next in order is the Bourquin referred to in the preceding section. This man's real name was Louis Bernard. His previous history, and his reason for changing his name, are alike unknown to me. It is only known that Perron had raised him from obscurity to the command of a brigade. His campaign against Thomas has been already related. He is next heard of as evincing his gratitude to Perron by revolting against him on the eve of the war with the English. By Perron's flight to British territory and by Pedrons' captivity, Bourquin became the senior officer in command of the old brigades of de Boigne.

Bourquin was close to Delhi at the head of the second and third brigades when the English were marching on Aligarh. Another French officer, Colonel Dugeon, was commanding the fort of Delhi. Bourquin, strongly sensible of the political advantage which might arise from having in his camp the old blind Emperor, called upon Dugeon to send him out under an escort. Dugeon refused. Upon this Bourquin prepared to besiege Delhi, and he only desisted when the fatal intelligence of the storming of Aligarh recalled him to a sense of his position.

On receiving this news Bourquin began to cross the Jamna with his two brigades. He had already (11th September) passed over twelve battalions with seventy pieces of cannon and five thousand cavalry, when, at 11 o'clock, the English army appeared in sight. Bourquin drew up his troops in a remarkably strong position, his front covered by a line of intrenchments prepared on the two preceding days; each flank covered by a swamp, and his guns hidden by long grass. Wishing to entice the English to attack this formidable position, he directed the outposts to fire on the English camp. At the time that this firing commenced, the British troops had grounded their arms,

many were undressed, others had gone in search of fuel. Lord Lake, however, hastily collected his men and led them to the attack. The fire from the long grass was, however, so heavy, and the intrenchments were so formidable, that Lord Lake, after losing many men and being wounded himself, stopped the advance to attempt a *ruse de guerre*. He then ordered his cavalry, which was leading, to retire slowly behind the infantry. The movement of the cavalry to the rear induced, in the mind of the French leader, the supposition that the British force was beaten. He ordered the men to leave the intrenchments and complete the victory. This they did with loud shouts. Their error continued till the sudden disappearance of the cavalry showed them the British infantry advancing to meet them. The disciplined battalions fought well, but they were overmatched. Bourquin was the first to leave the field. The rout then was complete. Bourquin surrendered, with five officers, three days later to the English, and disappeared not only from the field of battle, but from the field of history.

A character superior in every way to Bourquin was the Chevalier Dudrenec. A native of Brest, the son of a commodore in the French navy, Dudrenec had come out to India as a midshipman in a French man-of-war about the year 1774. Why he left the French navy, or the occupation to which he betook himself after leaving it, I have never been able to ascertain. He first appears upon the Indian scene in command of Bégam Sombre's brigade. He left this command in 1791 to join Túkají Holkar, by whom he was commissioned to raise, drill, and equip four battalions on the principle previously employed for Sindia by de Boigne. Dudrenec acquitted himself of this commission with great success. The following year, however, his battalions were destroyed—the men dying at their posts,—at the fatal battle of Lakhaurí, an account of which I have given in the sketch of de Boigne's career. Not disheartened, Holkar commissioned Dudrenec to raise four more battalions. This task he successfully accomplished, and with them, on the 12th March 1795, he contributed to the victory of Kardlá, gained by the combined Máhrátá forces against the Nízám.

For some time after this engagement Dudrenec remained in comparative inaction at Indúr. In 1797 he added two battalions to his force. In the struggle for power, which followed the death of Túkají the same year (1797), Dudrenec sided at first with the legitimate, but imbecile, heir, Khásí Ráo. Acting in his name he alternately defeated, and was defeated by, the pretender Jeswant Ráo. When at length the triumph of the latter seemed assured, Dudrenec went over with all his troops and guns to his side. But Jeswant Ráo did not trust him, and Dudrenec soon saw that his disgrace was determined upon. Under these circum-

stances he thought he would try and steal a march upon his master. Taking advantage of the hostilities then engaged between Sindia and Jeswant Ráo (1801) he endeavoured to take his six battalions bodily over to the former. But the men were more faithful than their commander. They drove Dudrenec from the camp, and marched to Jeswant Ráo, who at once placed at their head an Englishman named Vickers.

Dudrenec was, however, well-received by Sindia and entrusted with the command of a brigade, the fourth, and placed under the orders of Perron, at Aligarh. In February 1803 he was detached with this brigade to join Sindia at Ujjén; again, towards the autumn of the same year, when hostilities with the English were imminent, he was sent back to rejoin Perron. This force reached the vicinity of Agra in October, having been joined in its way by the three battalions of Bouquin's force which had not crossed the Jamna, nor been engaged in the battle of Delhi against the English, and by some other fugitives. The whole force amounted to about 12,000 men, well supplied with excellent artillery.

It was this army, indeed, which fought the famous battle of Láswári. But when it fought that battle Dudrenec was not with it. Influenced, it seems probable, by the example of his fellow adventurers, and by the favourable conditions offered,* he had surrendered (30th October) to the English. His Indian career then closed.

One of the oldest officers in the service of de Boigne was John Helsing, a man who, if not a Dutchman,† was at least of Dutch extraction. He joined de Boigne shortly after the latter entered the service of Sindia, and was present at the hardly-contested battles of Lálsót, of Agra, and of Chaksána. At Patán too, he fought bravely and well. After that battle, however, he quarrelled with de Boigne and tendered his resignation. This was accepted. Sindia then advanced him money to raise a battalion which should be peculiarly his own, and should act as his special body-guard. As commandant of this body-guard Helsing accompanied Mádhají to Púna in 1792, augmenting it gradually, as he proceeded, to four battalions. It was at this strength when failing health forced Helsing to leave Púna. He was sent thence to command at Agra, where he died in 1803.

His son, George Helsing, succeeded him at Púna. Shortly

* These conditions generally were security of life and property, and permission to return to Europe.

† Grant Duff says he was an Englishman; but his acquaintance and contemporary, Lewis Ferdinand Smith, invariably speaks of him as

a foreigner. His name does not appear in the list of British subjects serving Máhratá states, who were pensioned by the British Government, and the inscription on his tomb at Agra declares him a Dutchman.

after that Mádhají Sindia died. Daolat Ráo, however, not only continued his favour to Hessing, but authorised him to increase the number of his battalions to eight. They were at this strength when hostilities broke out between Holkar and Sindia in 1801, although half the number only were then with Daolat Ráo in his camp at Búrhánpúr, George Hessing having sent four to reinforce his father at Agra.

Holkar having shown a disposition at this period to attack and plunder Ujjén, Sindia detached George Hessing with three of his battalions and with one belonging to Filoze, to defend that place. Shortly after he had left, Sindia, not thinking his force strong enough, sent his fourth battalion, and another of Filoze's, under Captain McIntyre, to reinforce him. These were followed by Sindia's grand park of fifty-two guns, the advanced guard of which was formed by two of Perron's battalions under Captain Gautier, and the rear guard by two more under Captain Brownrigg.

Never, in his brilliant career, did Jeswant Ráo Holkar display to a greater extent the qualities of a general than on this occasion. Noticing the distance that separated these parties the one from the other; that the state of the soil, knee-deep with the mud created by the heavy rainfall, precluded the possibility of quick communication between them, at the same time that it rendered the progress of the guns extremely slow, he passed the leading column (George Hessing's,) close to Ujjén, and dashed down upon McIntyre's two battalions at Núrí, thirty-five miles from that place. His force was so overwhelming, that, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, he, in the end, forced them to surrender. Having thus placed an impassable distance between Hessing's detachment and the troops under Gautier and Brownrigg, he turned back and fell upon the former. The battle was long, obstinate, and bloody. The immensely superior fire of Holkar's artillery alone decided the day, nor was it until seven* out of his enemy's eleven European officers had been killed, and three taken prisoners; until three-fifths likewise of their men had been killed and one-fifth wounded, that victory decided in favour of Holkar.

* Lewis Ferdinand Smith, writes : " Of the eleven European officers who were in this severe action eight were British subjects, seven of whom were killed at their posts, and only one survived, but survived with wounds. Colonel Hessing, the commander, escaped."

The names of the eight British subjects were Graham, Urquhart,

Montague, Macpherson, Lang, Doolun, Haden, and Humpherstone. The seven first-named were killed, the last-named was severely wounded and taken prisoner. The names of the foreign officers were Hessing, Dupont, and Derridon. The first escaped, the two last were taken prisoners.

George Hessing is next heard of at Agra, commanding at that place when it was threatened by Lord Lake in October 1803. The troops, however, noticing the facility with which their foreign officers had surrendered to the English, placed Hessing and the six officers with him under restraint. This action on their part did not prevent Lord Lake from taking Agra. All the European officers, foreign and English, then within its walls, renounced the service of Sindia, and accepted the liberal conditions offered by Marquess Wellesley. Among these was George Hessing.

Michel Filoze, a Neapolitan of low birth and of no education, had at first served under de Boigne. By means of intrigue, however, he contrived to obtain authority to raise a battalion under his own sole command, and at the head of this he accompanied Mádahjí to Púna in 1792.

This battalion became the nucleus of the brigade of fourteen battalions raised by Michel Filoze and his son and successor, Fidele, between that year and 1800. At the head of six of these he rendered good service at the battle of Karllá, 1795. Michel Filoze was an adventurer of the lowest type. To other bad qualities he added the practise of treachery and dishonour. During the intrigues at Púna which followed the death of Mádahjí, Filoze ingratiated himself with Náná Farnawís, the minister of the Peshwá. When the latter was pressed by Sindia to visit him, and only hesitated because he mistrusted the intentions of Daolat Ráo, Michel Filoze assured him in the most solemn manner, and on his word of honour, that he would guarantee his safe and immediate return to his house. Yet, notwithstanding his oaths, and the pledge of his honour, Filoze himself arrested the Náná on his return from the interview (31st December 1797) and made him over to his master. This act of his was resented in the most marked manner by the other adventurers at the court and in the camp of Daolat Ráo. They considered this baseness on the part of one of their number as a stain upon themselves as a body. When shortly afterwards, the Náná was released and restored to power, Michel Filoze, dreading his vengeance, fled to Bombay.

He was succeeded by his son Fidele. Fidele Filoze accompanied Daolat Ráo in his campaign against Holkar in 1801 at the head of six battalions. One of these, under Captain McIntyre, was cut off by Jeswant Ráo Holkar at Núrí; a second under George Hessing was destroyed at Ujjén (June 1801); the remaining four took part in the battle of Indúr (14th October 1801). On this occasion Sindia's army, really commanded by an Englishman, Major Sutherland, gained a decisive victory. Strange to say, after that battle, to the gain of which he and his

troops contributed, Fidele Filoze cut his throat. "The reasons for this suicide," writes Major L. F. Smith, so often referred to, "are various. Some say that he had carried on a traitorous correspondence with Jeswant Ráo Holkar previous to the battle of Indúr, and that he cut his throat to prevent the disgrace of condign punishment; others that he committed the act in a delirium." Major Smith describes Fidele Filoze as having been "a good, ignorant man, a much better character than his faithless and treacherous father, who had all the bad qualities of a low Italian, and none of the good points which Italians possess." The Filoze family ultimately settled at Gwáliár.

A great deal might be written regarding the careers of adventurers who were not foreigners but Englishmen, and some of whom displayed the highest qualities. Prominent amongst these stand the names of Sutherland, Smith, Shepherd, Gardner Skinner, Bellasis, Dodd, Brownrigg, Vickers and Ryan. The first five of these accepted the terms offered by Marquess Wellesley in 1803, and with upwards of thirty other officers renounced the service of native chiefs; the last five were murdered or killed in action.

Of other Frenchmen who did good service to Sindia and Holkar, may be mentioned Captain Plumet, of whom Major Smith records that he was "a Frenchman and a gentleman, two qualities which were seldom united in the Máhrátá army. He was a man of respectable character and sound principles." Plumet commanded four battalions for Holkar in the attack on George Hessing at Ujjén (June 1801), and he shared in the defeat inflicted upon Holkar by Major Brownrigg at Barkésar in the July following. Finding Jeswant Ráo Holkar a master difficult to serve, cunning, capricious, and ungrateful, Plumet left him, and returned to the Isle of France.

With these names I have exhausted the list of the principal foreign adventurers who built up the armies of Holkar and Sindia between 1787 and 1803. It is true that many more names remain on the list, but not one that calls for sympathy or interest. This is my own conviction formed upon a minute examination of every paper of that period upon which I have been able to lay my hand. How far that conviction is borne out by contemporary opinion may be gathered from the following sentence culled from Major Smith's work already quoted. "Perron's army," wrote that gentleman in 1805, "was a minute miniature of the French revolution. Wretches were raised from cooks, bakers, and barbers, to majors and colonels, absurdly entrusted with the command of brigades, and shoved into paths to acquire lakhs. This was the quintessence of *égalité*, and the *acmé* of the French revolution." Even if Major Smith's description be exaggerated, this at least is

certain, that of all the men to whom I have referred, but one only, de Boigne, was worthy of representing France. He was worthy ; and there was another, Raymond, whose deeds have yet to be recorded, who at least rivals him in the esteem which, living, he earned ; which, dead, is still not denied him.

IV.

Before proceeding to Raymond it seems fit that I should briefly notice the career of two adventurers, very famous in their day, who flourished at a period immediately antecedent to that of de Boigne. I allude to Madoc and Sombre.

The real name of Sombre, as he was styled on account of his dark complexion, was Walter Reinhard. By birth he was a German, by trade a butcher. He originally came out to India in the Swiss company of infantry under the command of Captain Zeigler, attached to the Bombay European regiment. With that company he most probably came round to the coast, where he deserted and made his way round to Bengal, apparently in the French service.*

After the capture of Chámburnagar in 1757 Sombre wandered from the court of one petty chieftain to that of another in quest of service. After several unimportant adventures he was in 1762 appointed to the command of a brigade of troops in the service of Mir Kásim, Nawáb Nazim of Bengal.

Shortly after that event the greed and avidity of the English rulers of Bengal † forced Mir Kásim to war. The contest was on the one side for dominion, on the other for independence. On the 1st July 1763, Mr. Ellis and the English garrison of Patna, who had taken and then abandoned that city, surrendered to Mir Kásim's generals, Maréau and Sombre, and were sent back thither as prisoners. On the 17th July following, Mir Kásim's main army was repulsed on the banks of the river Adjí by a strong artillery force under Lieutenant Glenn ; and two days later it was defeated by Major Adams in the most obstinately contested battle of Kutwá.

The brigade of Sombre was not engaged on these occasions, but it joined the main army in time to take part in the bloody battle of Ghérá. (2nd August). In this battle Sombre occupied a very prominent position, and had he displayed the smallest pluck, the British power might have been temporarily extinguished on that well-contested field. The left wing of the English had been broken ; their centre had been attacked in the rear. The brigades

* Broomé's *History of the Bengal Army*.

† *Ibid.*

of Sombre and Markar* had only to advance and the day was gained. But it was against Sombre's principle to advance. His plan of action was invariably to draw his men in a line, fire a few shots, form a square, and retreat. He followed out this plan to the letter at Ghériá. He allowed the victory to slip from his grasp, but he covered the retreat of the army.

The victory of Ghériá was followed up by another (5th September) on the U'dwá nullah; and on the 1st October by the capture of Monghír. In the first defeat Sombre and his brigade were sharers.

The fall of Monghír irritated Mír Kásim to such a degree that he determined to take the terrible revenge of slaughtering the English prisoners held by him at Patna. The story is thus told in his admirable history by the late Colonel Broome.† "Mír Kásim now issued the fatal order for the massacre of his unfortunate prisoners, but so strong was the feeling on the subject, that none amongst his officers could be found to undertake the office, until Sombre offered his services to execute it.

"The majority of the prisoners were confined in a house belonging to one Hadjí Ahmad, on the site of the present English cemetery in that city. Hither Sombre repaired on the 5th October, with two companies of his sipáhis, having on the previous day, under pretence of giving the party an entertainment procured all their knives and forks, so that they were deprived of every means of resistance. Having surrounded the house, he sent for Messrs. Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, who went out with six other gentlemen, and were immediately cut to pieces in the most barbarous manner and their remains thrown into a well. The sipáhis now mounted the roof of the house, which was built in the form of a square, and fired down upon the remainder of the party, who were congregated in the centre court. Those who escaped this volley sought shelter in the building, but were quickly followed by Sombre's sipáhis, and a fearful scene of slaughter ensued. The English, driven to desperation, defended themselves with bottles, bricks, and articles of furniture; and their very executioners struck with their gallantry, requested that arms might be furnished to them, when they would set upon them and fight them till destroyed, but that this butchery of unarmed men was not the work for sipáhis but for *kullalkhores* (executioners). Sombre, enraged, struck down those that objected, and compelled his men to proceed in their diabolical work until the whole were slain. The following morning their remains were thrown into a well in the

* Markar was an American in Mír Kásim's service

Army, a standard work based entirely on authentic records.

† Broome's *History of the Bengal*

courtyard. The men employed in this office found one person, Mr. Gulston of the civil service, yet alive, and they seemed inclined to save him ; but this gentleman, who was an admirable linguist, smarting with his wounds, and ignorant of their kindly intentions towards him, gave them abuse and threatened them with the vengeance of his countrymen, upon which they threw him still breathing into the well with his more fortunate comrades. A few of the party, probably the sick and wounded, were in the Chehel Sitún, and were butchered in a similar manner on the 11th. Neither age nor sex was spared, and Sombre consummated his diabolical villainy by the murder of Mr. Ellis's infant child, from which it may be inferred that Mrs. Ellis was amongst the female sufferers in this dreadful catastrophe." Upwards of fifty civil and military officers and a hundred European soldiers, perished on this occasion. One officer, Dr. Fullarton, whose medical abilities had gained even the regard of Mir Kásim, had been allowed to reside on the Dutch factory, and escaped some days later. Four sergeants also who had been sent for from Purniá by Mir Kásim overpowered the crew of the boat in which they were being conveyed, and escaped.

From this date the fate of Sombre was allied to that of the deadliest enemies of the English. Thenceforward his life was a purgatory. He could expect but one fate should he fall into the hands of the countrymen of his murdered victims. He therefore always carried about with him poison to avoid a catastrophe which he never ceased to dread. Sombre took part in the battle of Patna (May 2nd 1764), fought by Mir Kásim ; and in that of Buxar fought by the Vizier of Oudh, against the English (23rd October 1764). In both these he displayed his usual shiftiness, retreating on the very suspicion of danger. After the ruin of Mir Kásim (1764) he had transferred himself and his brigade to the Vizier of Oudh, but he left him for the Jâts in August 1765.

Whilst serving with the Jâts Sombre purchased at Delhi a dancing girl, named Zeb-úl-Nissa, afterwards so notorious as the Bégam Sombre. She has been described as small and plump, with a fair complexion, and large animated eyes. She possessed great talents, the power of influencing others, and was utterly unscrupulous.

After his marriage with Zeb-úl-Nissa Sombre acted on the principle of offering his brigade to the highest bidder. Somehow he always commanded a good price. In 1776 he accepted service under Mirza Najaf Khan, the Commander-in-chief of the Moghol army, after having shared in the defeat inflicted by that leader upon his patrons, the Jâts, at Barsána the previous year. The following year the Court of Delhi conferred upon him the principality known as Sirdhána, yielding an annual rental of six lakus

of rupees. This territory was nominally granted to Sombre for the payment of the troops under his command, but upon his death, 4th May 1778, it passed to Zeb-úl-Nissa, thenceforth known in history as the Bégam Sombre or Samrú.

After Sombre's death, the brigade was commanded under the Bégam first by one Pauly, a German, who was taken prisoner by Mahomed Beg Hamdání, and executed in breach of a solemn promise, in 1783. After the murder of Pauly, "three Frenchmen," writes Major L. F. Smith, "Messieurs Baours, Evens, and Dudrenec, successively commanded and gladly retired." In 1793, the Bégam married her then chief officer M. Le Vaisseau, "a man of birth, talents and pride of character,"* who shot himself two years later. An old and respectable Frenchman, Colonel Saleur, then obtained the command. Under him, the brigade increased to six battalions and fought at Assaye, losing there its four guns and many men. The Bégam herself lived till 1836.

Madoc had been a common soldier in the French army. The capture of Chándarnagar in 1757 threw him loose on the country. After some adventures totally unworthy of being recorded, he joined Sombre's brigade, and served under his orders at the several battles in which he was engaged under Mir Kásim. With him he transferred his services in 1764 to the Vizier of Oudh, and obtained at once the command of a separate brigade. At the battle of Baxar he rendered good service. His character was the very opposite of that of Sombre. He was rash, enterprising, and even imprudent. In 1765 he transferred his brigade, which consisted of five battalions, twenty guns, and five hundred horse, to the Jâts. Subsequently, and as it suited his purpose, he took service alternately with them, with Mirza Najaf Khan, and with the Ráná of Góhad. In 1776, whilst in alliance with the first-named, he was attacked and his party almost destroyed at Biána by fifteen hundred Rohillas who surprised him during a storm of rain. On this occasion he lost twelve European officers, killed and wounded, all his guns and baggage, and fled, but scantily attended, to Futtehpúr. Thence, however, he made his way to Agra, and succeeded in raising in an incredibly short space of time, a force as strong in numbers, and as well appointed in men and in material as the party he had lost. Receiving shortly afterwards (1782) an offer of a large sum from the Ráná of Góhad for the brigade as it stood, he sold it to him and returned to France. He did not long survive, being killed in a duel. The subsequent life of his brigade was even shorter, Mádhájí Sindia, who was then warring with the Ráná, cutting it off to a man in an ambuscade (1784).

* Major L. F. Smith.

V.

It is now time to turn to Raymond.

Michel Joachim Marie Raymond was born at Serignac, the 20th September 1755. His father was a merchant, and the son followed the same profession. Pushed on by his enterprising nature, however, young Raymond determined to found a corresponding house in India, and with that object he set out in January 1775 from Lorient for Pondichery, taking with him a large quantity of manufactured goods. He disposed of these to great advantage at Pondichery; then, still drawn on by his ardent nature and his love of adventure, he entered as sub-lieutenant in a corps commanded by the Chevalier de Lassé in the service of Tippú Sahib. With this corps he fought throughout the campaigns of the war which began in 1780 against the English for the possession of Southern India.

When in March 1783 the Marquis de Bussy landed in India at the head of 2,300 men, one of his first acts was to offer to Raymond, as one who knew the country, the people, and the language, the post of Aide-de-Camp. Raymond accepted it, and took a share in all the actions under Bussy related in the first section of these papers.* Subsequently to the Treaty of Versailles and till the death of Bussy at Pondichery in January 1785, Raymond occupied the same post with the rank of captain. But on Bussy's death, he, with the consent of the governor, took service with Nizám Ali Khan, the Súbadár of the Dekhan.

The Súbadárs of the Dekhan had always been partial to the French. It had been under the brother of Nizám Ali that Bussy with his corps of Frenchmen had gained so great a renown. In July 1758 Bussy had been compelled by the policy of Lally to leave Haidarabád. He then made over charge to M. de Conflans. The following year, however, Conflans surrendered to the English, and the ruler of the Dekhan had been forced not only to renounce the French alliance, but to agree never to permit a French contingent to be quartered within his territories.

This treaty was regarded as binding by Nizám Ali Khan, when in 1761, he imprisoned and succeeded his brother. But there was another brother, Basálat Jang, who held in jaghír from Nizám Ali the district of Gantúr. Basálat, considering himself as bound by no treaty, and anxious to have in his service a body of foreigners upon whom he could depend, took into his pay a body of French troops. These were commanded by the younger Lally,† a nephew of the more famous general.

* *Vide Calcutta Review* for January 1877, Art. *French Mariners on the Indian Seas.*

† *Transactions in India*, London, 1786.

Nizám Ali, moved by the English, required his brother to disband this contingent. For five years he refused, and only at last complied when, quarreling with Haidar Ali, he found it necessary to conciliate the English. Nizám Ali at once took the corps into his own service.

The fate of the younger Lally I have never been able to ascertain, but it is certain that he and the men he commanded were lent in 1779 by the Nizám to Haidar Ali to aid in the prosecution of his war against the English; that they served throughout that war, and on the conclusion of peace returned to Haidarabád.* It seems probable that Lally died or resigned in 1785: certain it is that in that year Raymond succeeded him.

Up to the time of Raymond's arrival at Haidarabád the foreign adventurers who had served his predecessor had constituted one single corps of European cavalry. Simultaneously almost with de Boigne Raymond conceived the idea of improving this system by raising and drilling in the European fashion a considerable body of native troops, who should be commanded, and in part officered, by the adventurers who had survived the then recent campaign.

To this task Raymond bent all his energies. The work was gradual in its accomplishment. It may be asked, perhaps, how the Nizám was able to evade his obligation to the British Government? But this was not difficult. His predecessor had been forbidden to entertain a corps of Frenchmen. This, the Nizám agreed, was not intended to apply, and could not apply, to native battalions officered by foreigners. Notwithstanding, then, the displeasure frequently expressed by the Madras Government, Raymond, under the Nizám's orders, continued to augment the disciplined native troops.

His plan of procedure was different to de Boigne's, and had some advantages over it. These, however, were owing to the larger European material available in his hands. Thus he was able to fix the complement of the European officers to each regiment at eight, of the men at seven hundred and fifty.

By the beginning of the year 1795 Raymond had under his command fifteen thousand disciplined troops, formed into twenty battalions, and officered, including the staff, by one hundred and twenty-four Europeans. It was the most formidable body of native troops in the service of a native prince in India. For their support the Nizám assigned to Raymond several districts.

Nevertheless the first essay of these troops on the field of battle was destined to be unfortunate. In the beginning of 1795 the Nizám, incited by the anarchy prevailing at the court of Púna

declared war against the Peshwá, and marched to overthrow the Máhrátá Empire. The Peshwá summoned his vassals and raised an army to meet him. The two armies met between Kardlá and Parindá, the 12th March 1795. Raymond had all his men in the field ; whilst the Máhrátás were aided by twenty-six battalions composed of the men of the brigades of Perron, Filoze, Hessing, Dudrenec, and Boyd. In the sketch of Perron's career I have given an account of the action. It will be seen that not only did Raymond obtain at first an advantage over the Máhrátás, but that when the tide turned, he covered the retreat, prepared at any moment to convert it into a victory. But for the pusillanimity of the Nizám he might have done so. But with such a leader even a Raymond could not force victory.

During this war with the Máhrátás, the Governor-General, Lord Teigumouth, had lent the Nizám two battalions of British sepoys to maintain the internal peace of his dominions, while he should concentrate all his forces against the enemy. In doing this Lord Teigumouth had displayed a consideration for the Nizám which might easily have been construed as exceeding the bounds of permissible courtesy, the British being still in alliance with the Peshwá. But even this did not satisfy the Nizám. He wanted active aid ; and because he had been refused, he, on the termination of the war, resolved to dispense altogether with British support, and to supply its place by additions to the corps of Raymond. In pursuance of this resolution he, in June 1795, dismissed the two British battalions. Coincidentally with this dismissal he ordered a large increase to Raymond's troops and assigned fresh districts for their maintenance.

But the British troops had scarcely quitted Haidarabád when an event occurred, the effects of which rendered the timorous Nizám more dependent than ever on the allies he was insulting. His eldest son, Ali Jáh, following the family traditions, broke out into rebellion. Quitting the capital under a false pretext the young prince made his way to Bidr, obtained possession of that fortress and of others of less importance, summoned disaffected chiefs and disbanded sepoys to his standard, and was soon able to present a very formidable front to his outraged father.

The first act of Nizám Ali on learning of this revolt was to recall the two British battalions ; his second to despatch Raymond against the rebels. Raymond experienced no difficulty. The slightest skirmish sufficed to dissipate the followers of Ali Jáh. The prince fled to Aurangabád, but was pursued and captured. Raymond made over his prisoner to the minister sent by his father to take charge of him. The minister when setting out on his return journey to Haidarabád, directed that the *howdah* in which the prince was seated should be covered with a veil.

But Ali Jáh, ashamed of this indignity and afraid to meet his father, took poison and died.

Notwithstanding the suppression of the rebellion, the Nizám still retained the two British regiments at Haidarábád, and he himself fell gradually into a state of dependence on the British Government. This was further evidenced by the difficulties thrown in the way of carrying out the order for the increase of Raymond's corps. The prudent conduct of Raymond at this crisis was not, however, without influence on the mind of his capricious master, and it seems not improbable that, had he lived, all opposition to his schemes would have vanished. He died, however, very suddenly on the 25th March 1798, just six months prior to the arrival of the crisis which would have tried to the utmost his ability and his influence.

Raymond was a great loss to the enemies of England. No adventurer in India ever stood higher than he did. He was brave, magnificent, generous, affable, and vigilant. To great abilities he united the most consummate prudence. The one dream of his life was to carry out, by the means still open to him, the schemes of Dupleix, of Lally, and of Suffren. He deserves to be ranked with those illustrious warriors in the hierarchy of patriotic Frenchmen. With far fewer means he laid the foundation of a system which excited the greatest apprehension in the minds of the enemies of his country. To die at the early age of forty-four, just as the crisis to which he might have been equal was approaching, was an evidence of love from which his friends would gladly have exempted him. It is indeed possible that his reputation has not suffered from his early death. Even Raymond might have proved unequal to cope with the great Marquess Wellesley, wielding all the power of British India. But there is this yet to be said of him. No European of mark who preceded him, no European of mark who followed him, in India, ever succeeded in gaining to such an extent the love, the esteem, the admiration of the natives of the country. The grandsons of the men who loved him then love and revere him now. The hero of the grandfathers is the model warrior of the grandchildren. Round his tomb in the present day there flock still young men and maidens listening to the tales told by the wild dervishes of the great deeds and lofty aspirations of the paladin to whom their sires devoted their fortunes and their lives.

Raymond was succeeded in the command of the French division by M. Piron, a Fleming. Piron was honest, but sadly deficient in prudence. He could not conceal the hatred which he felt towards the English. It happened that Marquess Wellesley had just landed as Governor General strongly impressed with the designs of General Bonaparte on India, and almost his first act

was to require the Nizám to dismiss his French contingent. It is possible that the prudent Raymond might have conjured away or have met the storm. Piron did not possess sufficient character to do either. The Nizám was very unwilling to comply. But he yielded to the pressure put upon him by the great Marquess, and on the 1st September 1798, he signed a treaty by which he agreed to receive no Frenchman in his service, to disband the whole of the infantry lately commanded by Raymond, and to receive in their stead a contingent of British sepoy.

No sooner had the treaty been concluded than four battalions of British sepoy with their guns marched to Haidarabád, and joined the two battalions formerly stationed there. Some hesitation was even then displayed by the Nizám to break up Piron's corps; but the threatening attitude assumed by the British forced him to issue a proclamation to his disciplined sepoy informing them that their French officers were dismissed. The scene that followed was remarkable. These sepoy had adored Raymond; they had looked to their European officers with affection and pride; they would have followed them to the end of the earth; they knew that their dismissal was due, not to the wish of the Nizám, but to British influence. On hearing, then, the proclamation of the Nizám, they first murmured, then broke out into rebellion. But their European officers had been secured; their cantonments had been surrounded; from every point they saw their position commanded by cannon. Resistance being then hopeless, they surrendered, asking each other with a sigh; "would this have been, had Raymond only lived?" The French officers were sent to France.

I have now brought to a close this sketch of the careers of the principal foreign adventurers who flourished in India between the signature of the treaty of Versailles and the fatal blow dealt to the Máhrátá Empire by Marquess Wellesley in 1803-4. From that moment the British Empire in India was secure. Thenceforth neither native prince nor foreign adventurer could stay its onward progress. Any war which might break out, from the Satlaj down to the sea, could cause no serious disquiet to the Governor-General of British India. Even the acute sovereign of the warlike clan which had established a powerful monarchy beyond the Satlaj,—even Ranjit Singh foresaw the doom which awaited even the kingdom he had created. "It will all," he said, as he noted on the map the red border which encircled the various provinces already under British sway, "it will all become red." His words were a prophecy. The impetus given to the vast machine could not be stopped until the final goal had been attained.

The various, so to speak, indigenous races which had tried to found an empire in India had failed. The Hindús, brave as they

were, became to a great extent demoralised by an over-refinement of civilisation; an over-refinement which, amongst other strange forms, made of food a religion. This one law, this article of faith, which prevents combination, restricts men to a certain diet, to be partaken of only under certain fixed conditions, is sufficient in the present day to prevent the race which practises it from holding the chief sway over such a country as Hindostan. The northern warriors who ruled on their ruin had defects of an opposite character not less fatal to permanent predominance. With some brilliant exceptions they were intolerant, and the security—the very existence even—of their rule always depended on the character of the ruler. The Máhrátás, who succeeded them, were in every sense of the word adventurers,—fortune hunters who rose from nothing, men of neither birth, position, nor descent,—the marauders which a country in the last throes of its agony sends out from its lurking places to plunder and destroy. Such was Sívájí; such were the earlier representatives of the Gáikwár, of Sindia, of Holkar, and of the Bhónslé. Yet these men founded an empire. The Máhrátás succeeded the Moghols. When Lord Lake entered Delhi in 1803, the men he had beaten beneath its walls were the soldiers of the greatest of the Máhrátá chieftains. Virtually he restored the Moghol.

Could the Máhrátá empire have lasted if there had been no foreign power on the spot to supplant it? To those who would pause for a reply I would point to the condition of the court of Púna after the death of the Peshwa, Madhú Ráo Narain, in 1795. It was the court of Delhi after the demise of a sovereign in its worst days. It was the court of Delhi as it always was after the death of Aurangzib. The Máhrátá system of rule was cursed with the same inherent vice which was the bane of the Moghol sway. The succession was never secure to any one member of the family. The people were never safe against the exactions of their rulers. The rulers were never safe against treachery and insurrection. The inevitable consequences were intrigue, rapine, slaughter; constant wars; incessant oppression of the people. Had there been no foreigners on the spot to supplant the Máhrátá rule it is probable that the various members of its clan would have fought to a standstill, only in the end to make way for some new invader from the north,—possibly, for the moment, for Ranjit Singh,—to relapse, on his death, into renewed anarchy.

It would seem, then, to have been necessary for the safety of India that the successor to the Máhrátá should be a foreigner. Who was that foreigner to be? It was inevitable that he should come from Europe, for the children of northern Asia had been tried and found wanting. Portugal made the first venture, ignorant of the possible stake she might be called to play for. Holland, with a keener though still very dim appreciation of the future, followed

and, in part, supplanted Portugal. Then came England with a vision more clouded than that of Holland, caring nothing for dominion, looking only for gain. Last of all stepped in France. To the brilliant intellect of her gifted sons the nature of the mission which lay before one European power was not for long a sealed book. The greatest of the children whom she sent to India, recognising the priceless value of the stake, risked his all to win it. Had the Bourbon who ruled France properly supported him he would have won it. As it was, the intensity of the passion he displayed in playing the great game communicated some vague idea of its importance to his English rivals. The genius of Clive clutched it; the statesmanlike brain of Warren Hastings nurtured it; the commanding intellect of Marquess Wellesley established it as an ineradicable fact. Yet, throughout this period, France, which had been the first to conceive the idea, never resigned it. She had much to contend against. The narrow visions of her monarch and her statesmen could not grasp the vital importance of the mighty stake. It was these men who prevented India from becoming French. I have but to point to a few instances of their incapacity. The restoration of Madras by the peace of Aix la Chapelle; the recall of Dupleix, when if they had sent him but one regiment more, he would have gained southern India; the diminution of the forces ordered to be sent with Lally; the appointment as his colleague of such a man as d'Aché; the acknowledgment by the treaty of Versailles of the *status quo ante bellum*, when the English were reduced to their last gasp in southern India; all these were fatal errors due to that want of comprehensive grasp which marked the statesmen of the later Bourbons. Frenchmen on the spot, indeed, atoned nobly for the errors of their rulers. They fought for the idea, as long as it could be fought for; and when they beheld it slipping from their grasp they yet struggled with skill, with courage, and with pertinacity to prevent its appropriation by their rivals. In my history of the French in India, and in three recent articles in this *Review*, I have endeavoured to draw a vivid and a true picture of their aims and of their struggles. Those aims were worthy of being recorded, for they were lofty; those struggles deserved a historian, for they were gallant. The record reveals to us, moreover, this great people displaying qualities for which the world has not given them credit. We all knew that the French were clever, brave, and venturesome. Not every one, however, is prepared to find in a Frenchman the long pertinacity displayed by Dupleix; the quality of not knowing when he was beaten evinced by Suffren; the daring hardihood of her privateersmen; or lastly, the patience, the energy, the perseverance shown under trying circumstances by many of the adventurers whose deeds have been recorded in

this number. England, who, grasping gradually the idea of France, now occupies the position to which a Frenchman first aspired, only does honour to herself when she recognises the splendid qualities displayed by her most formidable rival ; allows that on the sea as well as on land she met a worthy antagonist ; and admits, that if for the favourable result of the contest she owes much to the genius and the comprehensive views of the great statesmen who guided the councils of her country during a large portion of the eighteenth century, she is indebted even to a greater extent to the errors committed by the statesmen of the enemy she was combating.

G. B. MALLESON.

ART. II.—INDIAN EMIGRATION TO CEYLON. *

FROM nearly every country in the world, to which a portion of the surplus population of India or China has gone for labour purposes, the superabundant peoples of old and crowded lands serving to redress the lack of newer countries,—ever and anon has risen a cry of cruelty and oppression from the dark-skinned *employé* against the white employer, until Englishmen at home have felt compelled to greatly sorrow over the doings of their countrymen in distant lands. The remark has been made with reference to newly-colonised countries, where soil for the tiller lies in aggravating abundance, that every man would be a slaveholder if he could. With not a few qualifications this statement would almost seem to be true; but it is hard for those at a distance—and it is they who have made the remark—to fairly judge of persons in such a position. In a matter of this kind, where labour disputes are not degraded by slavery, and the labourer has a large amount of freedom, so many circumstances intervene, sins of omission and commission on the part of the labourer as well as acts of impatience and greed of wealth on the part of the master—that outsiders cannot fairly judge, at least outsiders who are unacquainted with the side lights that local knowledge alone throws on such complications. The Italians have a proverb, “To know all is to forgive all;” the charity here inculcated is greatly needed in cases like those which Mauritius has recently made familiar. The terrible story which has been told by the Commissioners sent to enquire into the State immigrant coolies in Mauritius is fresh in the minds of the public. Some satisfaction may be found in the fact that the planters of Mauritius were not pure Britons, had, indeed, very little of English blood in them. But if any found consolation in this fact, the debate in the House of Lords in July, 1875, on the treatment of coolies in Penang, must have taken away the ground of their hope, though, as we read of the indignation of noble Lords at the cruelty shown to the Indian immigrant in Mauritius, the thought rose unbidden that the honourable House thus occupied was not altogether free of acts of oppression of the worst kind. Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, admitted that a miscarriage of justice, in regard to coolies, had taken place in the Province Wellesley, in Penang; a Province that, less than twenty years ago, was under the direct rule of the Governor-General of India. Make what deductions

* It should be stated that this article was written nearly two years ago; which will account for the statistical statements not being brought up to a more recent date than the end of 1874.

we will, all these facts, including the late Natal difficulty, must help to drive untravelled Englishmen to ask, "Is there nowhere a land to be found in which my countrymen deal quite fairly with an inferior race, by whom they obtain a livelihood or amass wealth?" It is seldom that there is gross and complete darkness everywhere; somewhere the lamp is kept alight, and men need never utterly despair. Nor, at this juncture, have Englishmen to put on sack-cloth and sit in ashes, as though everywhere in "plantation" colonies, the weakest went to the wall. It is the proud boast of Ceylon, who has fully half-a-million of "foreign" labourers working on her hill-sides and in her low-country stores, that she has never engaged the attention of the Houses of Parliament in respect of the treatment of her immigrants. Seldom do questions have to be put in her Legislative Council as to alleged miscarriages of justice, in which the cooly is the suppliant. Among the colonies of the British Empire, where immigrant labour is employed, she wears the "white flower of a blameless life."* The writer pens the foregoing remark only after careful enquiry, and, if he may himself say so, diligent research. But, in claiming all that may be claimed for Ceylon, it is not to be said that there have been no collisions between employers and employed, no breaches of trust or attempt at imposition here and there, but that, taken on the whole, Ceylon has no immigrant history comparable to that of Mauritius, or of British Guiana, or of Peru, which latter country vainly attempted to thrive upon the iniquities of the dreadful Macao trade. "Happy is that country which has no history," and the cooly-labour history of the first coffee-growing country in the British Empire is happy in not being able to claim a place where 'tis no honour to be notable, but much the reverse. A recital of the circumstances under which a stream of immigration, represented by considerably more than one hundred thousand persons annually, of their own free will leaving their homes and going to another country to find work, cannot fail to be interesting to Indian readers, more especially to the readers of this *Review*, to whom coercion of the bodies of men is as distasteful as an attempted sovereignty over the souls and consciences of individuals.

Englishmen, as has been said, have little to be ashamed of in the story that is to be told of Ceylon labour and how it is obtained. The facts impressed upon the mind of the writer from personal observation and research, serve to illustrate the soundness

* Sir Charles Dilke, in his "Great Britain," when dealing with the immigrant labour of Ceylon, does the planters of that colony, a great injustice. His book has been more than once publicly burnt by the class un-

fairly described by the Member for Chelsea. When a case of even slight oppression of coolies occurs, as two years ago was the case, public opinion literally drove the guilty planter out of the Island.

of that principle of self-government which the municipalities of England develop, and which the educated genius of the Anglo-Saxon people strengthen, that principle which is being so much scouted by many now-a-days,—that the law of supply and demand, with hitches now and again owing to exceptional circumstances, will satisfy all real wants. The author of "The Study of Sociology" might have found illustrations in the East as cogent as those he has gleaned from Western rule, of the incompetency of governments to rightly do the work that people ought to do for themselves. He would find that when the coffee crop was falling off the trees and rotting on the moist soil for want of pickers, and Government intervened to redress the balance, matters became a great deal worse, much money was expended, and no good whatever done. Left to itself, and to the contracts made between the parties to the bargain, things have worked smoothly, and the cases where this fundamental rule of political economy has broken down are hard to find. It is a pity that, so far as our tropical colonies are concerned, the impression is so widely prevalent that the people under British rule must be treated as children, and, consequently, that "paternal" legislation is alone fitted for them. Unfortunately, as matters are now going on in the imperial legislature, there is not much to give strength to the endeavours of those who would labour for a healthier mode of dealing, not only in England, but also amongst races of people, as in Ceylon, who are moving upwards in the scale of manliness and self-trust, and who will have to be treated differently by their alien rulers twenty years hence, than they are now. But to return to Ceylon's need of immigrant labour, and how that want was supplied.

With the abolition, forty years ago, of slavery in the West Indies, the coffee-growing colonies of those regions were ruined. Just at that time it had been discovered that the coffee shrub (*Coffea Arabica*), which had long grown wild in the Island of Ceylon, and the leaves of which hitherto had only been turned to use, would grow on the mountains and bear fruit abundantly. Forests were soon felled and burned; shrubs were planted out; in three years they began to bear fruit, and then it was discovered that there was no labour to pluck and garner the ripened berries. The inhabitant of the villages nestled in the valleys, who had his ancestral terraced rice-fields to cultivate, would take the axe and cut down the forest tree, but Bal Hami would not pluck the coffee berry. The low-country Sinhalese man was willing to do carpentry work in building a bungalow or store, or act as house servant, but he would not take a bag and fill it with the red berry, which the English planter soon appropriately termed "cherry." Nothing, so far as human possibilities of invention can at present be seen, will ever be devised which shall pass up and down the straight lines of

coffee trees, and gather the ripe fruit, passing over that not yet matured. Consequently, human fingers must pick the berry, if it is ever to be plucked at all. In times not yet forgotten in England, when steam-reaping machines were unknown, or were very rare, a paucity of labour put the English farmer in a dilemma similar to that of the Ceylon coffee-planter two-score years ago. The English farmer's extremity was the Irish labourer's opportunity, and St. George's Channel was braved and crossed. Precisely so has it been with regard to Ceylon and Southern India. The coolies from the densely-populated provinces of the parts of India, separated from Ceylon only by a "silver streak," left the villages where they were almost starving, ventured across the Straits in a *dhoney* (native vessel), helped the planter to pick the crop, received the rupees that had been earned, and then returned by the way they had come to astonish their friends and acquaintances with an amount of money such as they had only previously dreamed of, and stimulating them, in their turn, to venture forth for a few months, to see if they might thus happily return. Here was the germ of a common-sense arrangement which, the reader will suppose, developed into proportions large enough to meet the demand, and as the attendant circumstances can be very well imagined, no more would need to be said, but that all interested might be congratulated on so easy a solution of a very great question. So says common-sense, but that commodity is oftentimes scarce amongst rulers, and the history of immigration to Ceylon is but another instance in proof of this. The Government of the Madras Presidency must needs interfere with emigration, preferring rather that their subjects should starve at home than that another country should be benefitted by their labour, and the people themselves enriched. So they meddled with the matter and muddled it. The Madras authorities having bestirred themselves, of course Government Secretaries in Colombo could not keep their pens from paper; they entered the lists to protect the interests of the planters, and much "sound and fury signifying nothing" resulted. But, before detailing doughty deeds like these, it may be well to see how great was the poverty of the people in the regions whence Ceylon wished to draw her labour-supply.

The effect of the English occupancy of India has been to raise the wages of the labourer, whose position now in many places is much better than it was forty years ago. Consequently, injustice will not be done to the position of the Malabar "rayat" of 1830-40 if one or two documents are quoted, bearing date of only a few years ago, describing the position of the people, taking care that there are not special circumstances to complicate the question. To prove that higher wages are now paid to the Indian

labourer, compared with an earlier period, it may suffice to extract a passage or two from an unquestioned authority, Mr. Thomas Brassey, M.P., who, in his book on "Work and Wages" says (pp. 57 and 58) :—

"Since 1853 we have subscribed no less than £40,000,000 for Indian railways. A considerable portion of this sum has been paid to native labourers, and the result has been that in the districts traversed by these railways, wages have advanced within a short time no less than 100 per cent. In consequence of the great demand for workmen, the price of labour has increased to a still more marvellous extent in Bombay. Wages in that Presidency are now three times higher than in Bengal and the Punjab.

"The following table shows the variations in the average monthly wages of a carpenter in Bombay :—

1830-39	1840-49	1850-59	1863.
30s. 4d.	28s. 10d	32s. 7½d.	58s.

"The following table shows the wages of a cooly at the same periods :—

1830-39	1840-49	1850-59	1863.
14s. 9½d.	12s. 3½d.	14s. 2d.	27s.

"Everywhere in the vicinity of railway works the Collectors remark on their great effect of raising wages. The practice of promptly paying for all labour in liberal money wages caused an important social revolution in the habits of all who live by labour, even at a great distance from railway works. The labourers often travelled 200 miles to obtain work so paid, returning home at the harvest time."

Railways, too, have been, and are being, made in Southern India, and yet documents, emanating from a respected Native Member of Council, and a Collector under the Madras Government, respectively, tell pitiful tales of life barely supported. Some of their statements are appended. The Hon'ble S. Ramiengar, C.S.I. in a paper, "On Taxation and Wages in the Madras Presidency," says :—

"Allowing for fast days, days on which religious ceremonials, bathing in oil, &c., are performed, a cooly will not work more than two-thirds of a month, and the working season cannot be put down at more than eight months (in the year). The earnings of a cooly and his wife may accordingly be taken as between Rs. 43 and Rs. 60 a year, according to the nature of their work, and taking their expenditure as equivalent to seven kotahs of Paddy (or at Rs. 6 a kotah) equivalent to Rs. 42, or at the higher rate as equivalent to Rs. 55 a year, there is a margin of saving which, however is, I believe, actually but seldom put by. There is, however, no doubt that this class is better off than the hereditary farm servants. The Shanars, or palmyra climbers simply get a share of the sweet toddy, and the jaggery or coarse sugar which they collect for their employer; one Shanar cannot extract the produce of more than thirty trees in the working season and from this he gets a share selling such of the jaggery as he does not require for consumption. The working season comprises some eight months, and his earnings cannot be more than Rs. 3 or Rs. 3-8-0 per mensem, or Rs. 24 or Rs. 28 a year. On this they do manage to exist, but more often than not they have only one meal a day, consisting of rice or other grain, with some toddy and jaggery during the day time."

Again :—

"I do not think agricultural labourers in other districts generally earn so much as in Tanjore. In some districts the wages consist on an average of but two Madras measures of grain per diem, or sixty measures a month, equal to $12 \times 60 = 720$ measures or 90 mercials per annum. This, in money, is equivalent to Rs. 30 or Rs. $2\frac{1}{2}$ a month.

"Taking the whole Presidency it will probably not be much wide of the mark to assume the average earnings of unskilled labourers to amount to about Rs. 3 a month.

"There can be no doubt that the wages of labour have increased since Fuslis 1263 (A.D. 1853-4) though not in proportion to prices. It is believed that while the latter have risen by 100 per cent. the former have increased by about 50 per cent. and so far the condition of the labouring classes must be held to have improved of late years."

Mr. F. Brandt, sub-Collector of Tinnevely, reports as follows :—

"The hereditary cultivating peasants, as they are here called, who not so very many years ago were absolute slaves, and whose condition is but little above slavery now, are invariably, I believe, paid in grain, whether in zemindaries or lands held by other landowners. The working season may be taken as consisting of eight or nine months in the year, of which some sixty days they will be employed in cultivation of the land, and some forty days in harvesting operations; during the rest of these eight or nine months they will get some odd work in the way of baling water, and so on. The earning of a Pullor and his wife during the working season are found to be, in the Valli division of the Naoguneri Taluq, about as follows :—

Two measures of rice a day, or—

Kotah	Mercials	Measures.	
3	4	4 ...	For nine months,
1	10	4 ...	Harvest allowances.
0	6	0 ...	Special allowances called <i>Syantantaram</i> or <i>Nalla</i> .
			<i>Nashtan</i> (i. e. allowances for good or for bad), as in the case of a birth, marriage, maturity of a child, or death in the family.
1	0	0 ...	Gleaning.
<hr/> Total 6	<hr/> 0	<hr/> 0	

Calculating the kotah at Rs. 6 in money this is Rs. 36 in the year.

The expenditure may be taken as follows :—

	Rs.
Diet and household expenses, the equivalent	24
Drink, without which they will not work	6
Clothing	6
	<hr/>
	Rs. 36
	<hr/>

In Shermadevi, in the Ambasanudiam Taluq, a Pullor is

reckoned to get about one and a half measure; and his wife one measure a day in the working season, or—

K.	M.	M.	
1	10	3	
0	10	4	.. Allowances at the Pesharnam harvest.
0	7	4	.. Do. Do. Kar Do.
0	1	3	.. Sootantrams.
2	10	0	.. By other field labour.
0	4	0	.. Gleaning.
2	0	0	.. By extra odd jobs.
Total 7	0	0	... Equivalent to Rs. 42 per annum.

Statements like these need no comment. The country in which the people live who are thus described, is a plain extending over a vast area, which Englishmen may fairly picture to themselves, if they have seen the fen country of Eastern England, and will suppose that flat surface almost indefinitely extended on every side. This plain of the South of India is paralleled by similar flat country in the North-West, and a very vivid description of the latter given in a recent work of fiction,* would serve to describe the populous regions between the Coromandel and the Malabar Coasts, where the triangle which India forms is narrowed to a point. The census taken in 1871 gives the annexed return as regards the districts to which Ceylon looks for her labour supply:—

Districts.	Area in square miles.	Population, Census of 15th November. 1871.
Tanjore	3,739	2,290,400
Trichinopoly	3,591	1,200,400
Madura	3,784	2,266,600
Tinnevely	4,815	1,694,000
Totals	15,929	7,451,400

In 1839 migration to Ceylon first became certain and regular. Several thousands of coolies are estimated to have entered the country in that year. In 1843, when official returns began to be compiled, the number of arrivals was 36,600, while in 1865 nearly 90,000 were reckoned, and in 1874, 125,156. The following table, compiled by the Editors of the *Ceylon Observer*, will give an idea of the gradually-increasing stream, and its component parts:—

The Chronicles of Dastipore, London, 1875.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF COOLIES from 1813 to 1874 inclusive, with Percentages, &c.

ARRIVALS.				DEPARTURES.				PER CENTAGES OF ARRIVALS.			
Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Years.
56,110	567	443	56,900	15,808	914	486	17,218	96.16	2.61	1.92	1813
74,840	1,811	724	76,745	28,337	825	635	33,697	97.52	1.539	.94	1814
72,295	698	177	73,401	246.3	145	36	248.4	98.81	.65	.24	1815
4,332	33	125	4,337	1,883.3	43	23	1,891	98.92	7.79	.3	1816
44,485	1,638	417	46,140	5,897	79	33	6,019	95.54	2.55	.903	1817
29,295	1,885	551	31,722	22,880	557	132	23,389	93.07	6.23	1.7	1818
27,732	1,450	928	29,480	10,497	335	84	10,916	94.2	4.9	.9	1819*
37,135	1,813	449	39,122	20,758	548	303	21,609	94.98	4.61	1.11	1820
29,224	1,003	273	29,900	16,775	419	191	17,385	95.68	3.4	.93	1821
28,224	2,226	770	30,999	2,564	789	254	3,363	94.44	4.13	1.43	1822
36,382	2,042	653	38,917	27,129	991	375	28,483	93.14	5.2	1.16	1823
64,014	9,003	4,801	67,521	21,619	1,423	479	23,541	8.32	13.28	6.4	1824
5,979	6018	1,270	6,827	2,110	673	313	2,406	89.23	8.61	2.16	1825
5,263	6,342	2,299	6,804	3,218	1,502	639	3,837	87.16	9.32	3.52	1826
6,018	6,074	2,298	6,030	3,687	2,278	772	3,967	86.63	10.06	3.51	1827
7,517	16,172	4,718	9,062	45,477	3,277	1,416	5,440	78.26	16.33	4.91	1828
32,247	5,797	1,811	41,155	43,900	3,722	1,196	48,818	80.79	14.45	4.76	1829
41,268	8,846	2,093	52,945	21,279	1,874	721	23,874	79.16	16.89	3.95	1830
43,147	8,175	2,110	53,432	32,636	3,387	1,079	37,022	80.70	15.3	4	1831
51,829	1,5603	4,524	68,996	25,577	46.1	1,641	41,999	75.38	18.14	6.58	1832
5,823	1,1858	5,032	7,1718	5,334	78.4	3,627	6,1765	76.13	16.76	7.11	1833
6,087	7,4214	4,499	8,180	5,7424	8,526	4,299	6,779	77.13	17.37	5.50	1834
600	7	6759	8,597	61,594	8,478	4,365	64,537	73.66	18.80	7.54	1835
5,848	2,723	6,117	8,8328	38,997	6,717	3,515	49,229	66.21	26.87	6.92	1836
3,1658	1,856	2,955	5,9779	3,557	7,293	3,198	43,998	74.47	20.65	5.26	1837
43,493	11,540	2,882	55,721	44,829	7,524	2,182	54,526	74.07	20.71	4.79	1838
43,293	11,150	2,523	56,711	43,826	8,630	2,175	54,331	76.20	19.33	4.81	1839
16,835	2,735	2,735	6,5214	44,787	8,355	2,260	55,82	73.20	16.61	4.37	1840
7,009	15,471	2,968	8,9529	5,6603	9,660	3,347	68,610	79.17	17.47	3.35	1841
6,103	12,116	3,887	6,9005	10,783	4,247	4,317	74,035	79.90	15.24	4.85	1842
7,0887	21,466	4,189	8,9012	63,238	12,975	5,316	80,629	79.41	15.91	4.67	1843
9,5659	21,460	8,097	1,25156	73,210	11,699	5,818	89,727	76.43	17.09	6.46	1844
1,69,458	2,76,181	82,202	2,017,841	1,127,460	1,34,381	55,000	1,316,841	82.23	13.694	4.07	Total—

Opposite 1819 are figures for the Northern Province only
 of a day's labour. 3 or 4 p.m., consisting of, say, 600 coolies, of whom 200 at least were women and brown-up girls, it seems hard to believe that the above returns are quite trustworthy. But the estate in question was an old one, and many of the coolies were permanent settlers.

The annexed table shows the ports of Ceylon most favoured by the immigrants as landing places, and the numbers landed at each in one year, *viz.*, 1874:—

				Total from the commencement of the year.	
Ports				Arrivals.	Departures.
COLOMBO.					
Men ...	...	...	23,435	30,480	
Women	...	...	3,910	3,561	
Children	...	...	4,997	3,374	
NEGOMBO.					
Men ...	...	...	71	113	
Women	...	...	2	0	
Children	...	...	17	5	
KALPITIYA.					
Men ...	...	...	108	21	
Women	...	...	13	4	
Children	...	...	12	0	
MANNAR.					
Men ...	...	...	36	1,125	
Women	...	...	0	17	
Children	...	...	0	12	
PESALAI.					
Men ...	...	...	59,724	21,502	
Women	...	...	15,619	3,447	
Children	...	...	2,685	1,248	
VANKALAI.					
Men ...	...	...	12,285	1,988	
Women	...	...	1,826	3,670	
Children	...	...	386	1,179	
Total				125,156*	89,727

Having thus seen the immigrants reach a land where their presence was much needed, we may go on to notice the action of Government, at first baneful, then beneficial, with a few remarks on

* Of this total the compiler of the *Ceylon Directory*. Mr. A. M. Ferguson, says:—"The most satisfactory feature in last year's figures is the large surplus of immigrants left in the island. This discrepancy (35,000) indicates the great present demand for coolylabour, and also we may hope in some degree the advancing rate at which

the Tamils of Southern India are becoming, comparatively, permanently settled in the island. The large percentage of women, and especially of children, in the arrivals for last year, also favours the probability of a lengthened stay, if not permanent settlement."

the cooly himself and some of the outgrowing results of the labour movement.

I.—*The Baneful Action of Government.*

Labourers, in small gangs, had been arriving in the island for fully ten years before the Government bestirred itself to do much for the comfort and convenience of the immigrants; then sheds were built at three or four places on the road between Mannar, the port of landing in the north, and Kandy, the mountain capital, situated in the centre of the districts then opened. a distance of 200 miles. But the accommodation thus provided must have been of the scantiest; for, in 1854, when the planters formed their Association * (a Trades' Union of Employers), one of the first things done was to communicate with Government on the dilapidated condition of these sheds. But the authorities had not been content with exercising their power in the matter of providing shelter, they proceeded to do what was clearly then right, and very necessary, *viz.*, to pass a Labour Law. By the Ordinance No. 5 of 1841 estate coolies were to be considered monthly servants, though paid by the day, even if no written contract existed. The master was entitled to discharge his labourer without previous notice, provided such labourer was instantly paid his wages for the time he had served, and also for fifteen days from the time of his discharge. Matters continued to work on the whole satisfactorily; no substantial injustice being done on either side, coolies arriving in yearly increasing numbers. In 1857-58, however, owing to the increased acreage of coffee land under cultivation, planters began to get alarmed as to the supply of labour, the mutiny in India during the former year doubtless having something to do with the fears entertained. Hitherto cooly recruiting had proceeded on this basis: when the in-gathering of crop was over, and the coffee beans had been despatched to the port of shipment, a large proportion of the estate force was paid off, and they departed to their own country, to return to the estates in the course of six or eight months. To the *kangyanis* (overseers of small gangs) who were deemed trustworthy, sums of money were given, called "Coast Advances," which were to be spent at discretion in giving (what is denominated "earnest" at English statute hiring fairs) to coolies desirous to emigrate, and who might need a few rupees to pay their debts in the village, to leave with their families, and to pay their way in travelling to the scene of their future labours. Though large sums were given out in this way, marvellously little

* An Agricultural Society had previously been in existence, but it does not seem to have done much.

of it was misappropriated, * and in the earlier days of immigration there was little but the bare word of the *kangani* to trust.† The supply of labour not being equal to the demand, it was thought advisable that a "Cooly Transport Company" should be formed, and that an agent should be stationed in Southern India to beat up recruits and send them across the Ferry. It was hoped that the advance system would thus be done away with. £25,000 was the capital estimated for this company, half to be raised in Ceylon, half in England; the moiety from England was easily raised, but the scheme received little support in the island, and soon fell through. Unwarned by the fact that where a private company had failed, a tape-bound Government Commission could scarcely, by any manner of means, succeed, in 1858, the Queen's Advocate of Ceylon introduced to the Legislative Council a bill entitled, "An Ordinance for the Regulation and Promotion of Immigrant Labour." What was the result? In 1858, while the bill was under weigh, the coolies landed were 96,062 in number: the year after the Commission created by this ordinance had been at work the arrivals had sank to 40,105. No wonder that in the succeeding session the bill was repealed.

The authorities seem to have been possessed with the notion that if they took a horse to water they could make him drink. The coolies of Southern India are a most conservative race. It was a great thing for them to break through caste rules and discard other trammels and go forth to seek employment out of their own "village," but the labourers who first came to Ceylon took the short sea route across the Straits of Mannar, and tramped along the North Road till they reached their destination. It is true that, at that time, rivers were unbridged, streams were often swollen, wild beasts infested the jungle, food *depôts* were few, but the pioneers of the system had come that way: the first sheep in the flock leaped over the obstacle, and all others continued to leap, even when the obstacle had been removed. The Ceylon authorities thought that if they had swift-sailing vessels (steamers) at Tuticorin, the southernmost port of India, coolies would assemble there, whence they could be taken to Colombo in from ten to twenty hours, and easily conveyed to the coffee districts. The coolies could not see this. It might be that they preferred entering

* At a discussion in the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce in July last, [1875] a merchant, Mr. Sabonadiere, said, that as regarded the present system, he did not think it a very bad one, especially with respect to loss of money. He had to do with Coast advances, as a planter, for many years,

and had not lost much by it. Considering the large force obtained a very nominal premium was paid.

† Now orders on the Indian *kachcheries* are issued by the Ceylon Government, but a good deal of "greasing the palm" is necessary to get these orders promptly cashed.

Ceylon by the north because a kindred race dwelt in that part of the island : Tamils from the continent, in fact, had hundreds of years before driven back the Sinhalese, and themselves occupied the land. Whereas, at Colombo, the immigrants, to a very great extent, were brought into contact with a foreign people.*

The sumptuary laws of the middle ages could hardly have been more elaborate than was this ordinance to help immigration ; it set out, in the preamble, " that it is expedient, from the large increase of public and other works, † to make special provision for the same by a fund to be created for that purpose." Some of the clauses of the ordinance were very curious, whilst, among other things provided for, was a tax of three shillings per cooly employed on estates. The ordinance, consisting of fifty clauses, having been passed, the gun-boat *Insolent* was offered by the home authorities, as a carrying vessel. Nothing, however, came of this offer. An agent was sent to Southern India, " to use every exertion to induce labourers to depart for Ceylon in sufficient numbers to gather the crop now ripening ;" but on the 26th of August, when a good deal of crop is ready for picking, not one cooly had been landed by the Commissioners. The steamer *Manchester* was engaged for the trade, but the Secretary to the Commission, Mr. Robert Dawson, seems to have seen how futile and ridiculous were the measures proposed ; for in a letter, dated 13th September, he says :—" I am of opinion the *Manchester* will now bring over at least 300 people each voyage. Is it, therefore, judicious to saddle the colony with a burden of £14,000 or perhaps £20,000 a year for the purpose of obtaining during the next two months, the full number of coolies the *Manchester* is allowed to carry ?" In exactly two months the *Manchester* had brought over 2,000 coolies, and had earned £291-6-9, while the expenditure had been £2,651-9, resulting in a great loss. Altogether, to the end of September, £10,420-8-8 had been expended to no practical purpose.

Foiled in this attempt, the Commissioners (all the while being highly paid for their labours), tried to graft on Ceylon the sys-

* Now, however, a change of route is likely to find favour. A large number of coolies already go to Colombo from Tuticorin, and the extension of the railway to this town, tapping, as it does, some of the more populous of the districts, will bring many emigrants by this way. A planter, of much experience, who recently visited Southern India, has favoured the writer with some notes of his visit, in which he points out

that an immense number of people were idling about the villages, and that the numbers working in Ceylon cannot affect adversely cultivation in Southern India, but otherwise.

† The railway was then commenced. So prosperous is it that last year it brought nearly £200,000 into the treasury chest, clear profit, whilst an extension has been made out of current revenue.

tem of long engagements in vogue between India and Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, and other places. This proposal, however, proved worse than useless, for it attracted the attention, whilst it stirred up the animosity, of the Madras Government, who suspected that a large portion of the population was leaving the Presidency. The consequence was that, though Ceylon had been recognised by the Governor-General of India in Council as geographically, and in other respects, a part of India, emigration from a portion of the Madras Presidency was absolutely forbidden by the local authorities. And this conducts us from the blundering of the Colonial rulers to the fatuous policy of the Presidency Governor and his advisers. Meanwhile we have come to the year 1861; the Ceylon Immigration Commission has been dissolved; votes have been passed in Council helping to cover the expenditure incurred, while there was not much protest—for, sad to say, the public were accessories to the fact. The Government urgently wanting coolies for its own public works ignored Commissions, and had recourse to the services of a mercantile firm doing business in Colombo and Madras.

Planters were still short-handed, and forgetting how absolutely rotten the support of Government had previously proved, the Planters' Association again approached the authorities as suppliants. They asked if the Colonial Secretary had taken any proceedings to appoint an agent at Ganjam (Madras Presidency) to open up new fields whence to draw labour. The reply was that Government itself had been checkmated in its efforts in that direction. What the Madras authorities did is thus described in a letter to Government by the merchant employed :—

“By the annexed copies of letters from Mr. Forbes, the Agent to the Governor of the Madras Presidency, you will observe that he intimates, ‘that Government have not approved of the operation of the Emigration Agency being extended to this district, and that all persons collecting or shipping coolies without the consent of Government are liable to the penalty of the law,’ and, in a subsequent letter, he refuses the application to export coolies.

“I am aware that the Madras Government views with disfavour the emigration of the natives of the Presidency for service in Ceylon.”

Much correspondence followed, the Ceylon rulers being for once earnest in their endeavours to secure labour. The Colonial Secretary, in his letter to the Chief Secretary of the Madras Government, pointed out that according to the Indian Acts which control emigration, there was no legal impediment to Ceylon residents making any part of the Madras Presidency a recruiting ground for any amount of labour they required. Full assurance was given that nobody would be engaged except with their full and free consent, and that the provisions of Act XXV., 1859, (to prevent over-crowding in vessels) should be strictly enforced. In 1862 the Madras Government gave way, remarking that they would put no further

obstacles in the way of emigration. As an inducement to this end the Ceylon Secretary had stated "that a cooly in Ceylon could save out of his wages, at the present rate, 4, 5, or even 7, rupees a month."

With this concession from Madras ends the Government interference on either side of the Manuar Ferry in the arrangement of a matter altogether out of their proper sphere, and beyond their legitimate control. The fact, however, should not be overlooked, that the people of Ceylon were not in advance of their rulers. The Planters' Association slow to read the "signs of the times," had kept up a spluttering fire at successive Governors, urging upon them to permit the use of the steamer *Pearl*, when not engaged at the Pearl Banks (for which service she was purchased) to convey coolies backwards and forwards between Southern India and Ceylon. Little came of the proposal, though it was not unfavourably regarded in vice-regal circles. So slow are men to learn lessons which shall shake their faith in the ability of Governments to do everything and remedy every evil, that, though failure and disaster, large expenditure and little results, are written so plainly on these transactions that "he may read who runs," only a few weeks since (in July, 1875), at a meeting of the Colombo Chamber of Commerce, the proposal of Government steamers was revived, an outbreak of cholera at the (Ceylon) landing ports in the north having dammed the stream of immigration for a few days. These broad facts remain, sufficient it would be thought, to discredit all future efforts of the kind: in 1861, when the Immigration Commissioners were exhibiting that zeal which in "new brooms" is proverbial, the number of arrivals was 40,105; as the years passed and the Commissioners were disbanded the newcomers rose to 53,422, and so on, higher still during the *régime* of "masterly inactivity," which happily continues to this day, until in 1874, as has been already said, the unprecedented number of 125,156 arrivals were recorded. In this instance, at least, "paternal" legislation failed, and if the experience thus dearly-bought could only be made available as guides to conduct today and tomorrow, Ceylon would be the wiser and happier. But the Governor in a Crown Colony of the "partial-freedom" type, is changed every five years; leading officials in fewer; each man comes a stranger to his work; and, as every day has its portion, the lessons of the past cannot be well learned, and the land is the loser because the valuable experience which has been garnered is not availed of. The rule of Crown Colonies from Downing-street has not yet reached practical perfection, radical change is necessary before it does this. In the body politic, too, in Ceylon, continual change is frequent; it is estimated that the European population of the island

changes in from eight to ten years. *Lasting* impressions are, therefore, difficult, so far as individuals are concerned. Fortunately for the world ideas and examples live, though men pass away.

II.—*The Beneficial Action of Government.*

THE Ceylon Government, as has been seen, in 1861 passed an ordinance, the main provisions of which are identical with Ordinance 5 of 1851, which has been alluded to. In addition, it sets out penalties to be imposed on persons seducing labourers from an employer, euphemistically known as “crimping.” With this Labour Law, which is held, unlike the existing laws between master and servant in England, to be more favourable to the *employé* than to the employer, and the Ordinance 10 of 1862, making provision for the proper accommodation of coolies in the short voyage they have to take, similar to the inspection of emigrant ships in England, neither more nor less, one might have supposed that the Government had done enough for the immigrants. But, no! Ordinance No. 17 of 1862 was passed, imposing upon employers the necessity of making quarterly returns of the coolies in their service, births, deaths, &c. Further, while dealing with the ordinances specially passed in the interest of the cooly—up to 1863 twelve ordinances had been passed, seven then remaining in force*—it may be well to mention two others, one securing an important privilege to the immigrant. As regards the cooly himself, Ordinance 3 of 1847 “prohibits natives of India from entering into contracts in this island for labour to be performed in any British or foreign colony, beyond the limits of this island, and without the territories of India, and from immigrating from this island to any such colonies for the purpose of employment as labourers.” No action under this ordinance has ever taken place. Further, the “important privilege” is secured to the immigrant of not having to pay the “poll-tax.”

To explain the full force of the “important privilege” said to be secured to the cooly, it may be well to state that Ceylon stands pre-eminently above the other colonies of the empire in the matter of good roads, and plenty of them. The island is literally “gridironed” with them, and there is scarcely one that is not the highway of much traffic. They are kept in remarkably good order. Every male inhabitant, European and native, has to contribute annually six days’ labour to the up-keep of these roads, for which labour, however, he may commute and pay the sum of

* Report on the Labour Laws of Law, now Puisne Justice of the Supreme Court.
Ceylon, by R. Cayley, Barrister-at-

two rupees. The only exemptions are the Governor, soldiers, Buddhist priests, and immigrant coolies. Not only those in search of work are exempted, but also those actually employed in agricultural labour. Furthermore, to the benefit of the immigrant, "agreements for the hire of any labourer, artificer, manufacturer, or menial servant, are exempted from stamp-duty." This does not apply to any but Malabar coolies; an ordinance passed in 1872 for the registration of house servants requires a great many stamps including a new one for each change of service.

With all this effected the authorities did not see fit to stay their hand. In drawing attention to the latest Ordinance of the "paternal" kind, it must be pleaded in extenuation of the action of Government that there are exceptional circumstances in a Crown (plantation) Colony, which justify a great deal of legislation that would be indefensible in other countries, in England for instance. The writer finds himself called upon to approve much that is done by the authorities in Ceylon which he would strongly condemn if attempted in England. There is no disguising the fact that, colonisation being out of the question, the main object with nineteen-twentieths of the European residents in tropical countries, is to make as much money in as little time as possible, and then leave for happier climes and pleasanter surroundings. To men, eager in the pursuit of wealth, with labourers of a different race to their own, with whom is associated the prejudice that theirs is to labour while the owner of the fairer skin gets a lion's share of the result of that labour, it would argue the expectation of something more than the average human being has of tenderness, mercy, generosity, to suppose he would never be desirous to avail himself, beyond legitimate limits, of the labour of his servant. And more, that he would be unduly liberal in providing for the comfort of his *employés*. Much, therefore, may be done by a Government which finds such elements amongst its subjects, beyond merely enforcing the fulfilment of contracts and keeping the peace. Under the influence of this feeling many benefits have been conferred upon the immigrant, the greatest (as well as the latest) of which is known as the Medical Aid Ordinance, No. 13 of 1872. Under the provisions of this Act the cooly finds himself cared for in ill-health and treated in sickness far better even than the headman of his ancestral village would be. The assertion may fairly be made that nowhere in the world is a corresponding class of labourers and artisans so well attended to in times of sickness as is the Indian cooly in Ceylon. How came this special attention to be paid? Many years ago Government felt that it ought to do something in the interest of the "sick man" of the estates, and magnificent hospitals were erected in convenient centres. One of these, a beautiful bungalow-like

building, on the side of a main road, perfectly clean and neat, creepers climbing the pillared verandah and bright tropical flowers thickly scattered around, particularly attracted the writer's attention when, four years ago, he saw it for the first time. But these hospitals were simply costly failures: the coolies would not go to them for medical treatment, nor allow themselves to be taken thither. They would sooner die in their "lines" with their friends about them, than take the chance of being cured in hospital. All the while the physical state of the cooly was believed to be far from satisfactory. Government wanted to do something, but could not well see how to move. Eventually, in consequence of statements made to him by a leading planter, Sir Hercules Robinson (then Governor) caused a series of questions to be prepared, embracing the general health of labourers, the death-rate, and the necessity, or non-necessity for special European medical aid being provided in every district. These questions were sent, by the Planters' Association to the superintendents of estates, and several hundred replies were received. A very large number of planters were against any Government interference whatever, while others propounded elaborate schemes of district hospitals and dispensaries. The health of the cooly was stated to be pretty good, and the death-rate averaged only two per cent. This average was deduced from the quarterly returns sent to Government, and may be taken as fairly correct; but it should be borne in mind that the immigrants consist of the healthiest and most vigorous of the race, the old, weakly, and infirm being left behind in the Indian villages. Sir Hercules Robinson left the colony before the replies to these questions were sent in, but his successor, Mr. (now Sir) W. H. Gregory, late M.P. for Galway, took up the matter *con amore*; and, in spite of the opposition of the planters, an Ordinance was determined upon. A bill was introduced into the Legislative Council and the debate upon the second reading of the measure proved to be one of the most interesting ever heard in the Chamber. The opposition of the planters was carried into the Legislature. Mr. W. Martin Leake, representative of planting interests, moved the rejection of the measure. A passage from his speech is worth quoting. He said:—

"It was manifest that the cooly in Ceylon was a free man. Then as to his physical well-being. He was able to get work whenever he wanted it. Such a thing as a cooly out of employ was utterly unknown. He had said that the Colonial Secretary in 1861 had addressed a letter to the Government of India on the question of coolies from Ganjam. In that letter he stated:—

"I may here state, for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor of Madras in Council, that a cooly in Ceylon can save out of his wages, at the present rate, 4, 5, or even 7 rupees a month."

"Since that date wages had slightly increased. Supplies, owing to the opening of the railway and greater facilities of communication had become cheaper, so that it was but a fair representation to say now that

the cooly could at any time save four, five, or seven rupees per month. And this was the man for whom Government would compel planters to provide medical aid at their own expense! But, as he had already stated, they did not object to the expense. The subject had been referred during the last three weeks to the planters in every district. Twenty meetings had been convened—some were ill and some were well attended. Of these twenty meetings seventeen passed resolutions in favour of making their own arrangements. But it had been said: "You are too late. You should have done this before." There was no doubt there had been a want of unanimity in the matter, a want of unanimity that could not be got over, till a measure should be passed to compel the minority to go with the majority, and he would undertake to say that if such a measure was passed and the matter in this stage were left to them, that aid would be provided in a short time in the greater part of the districts. He would not object to Government retaining the power—though he believed it would be contrary to principle—of making those districts provide medical aid which had done nothing at all."

His closing words were:—

"It was all very well for the hon. the Colonial Secretary, in introducing the bill to say the planters measured out medicine to the coolies by rule of thumb on the end of a paper knife: it was something to be commended that they gave them medicine at all. The Bishop of Peterborough had recently said in the House of Lords he would rather see Englishmen free than sober. For his (Mr. Leake's) own part he would sooner see the Malabar cooly in Ceylon free than taking physic."

A planter-merchant, who occupied the mercantile seat, showed that the death-rate amongst the coolies was lower than in England,—*ergo*, nothing, therefore, need be done for them. A third unofficial member (Mr. Wilson) thought the bill a most objectionable one. "The coolies," he said, "and for that matter all natives, are quite capable of taking care of themselves. Indeed, they often have the advantage of the European. They know their own rights as well as any European in the island," and so on, winding up with the advice to Government to study the 3rd and 4th verses of the 7th chapter of Matthew, and to see that its own pioneers were kept healthy and well-tended in sickness before it interfered with the servants of others. Sir (then Mr.) Coomara Swamy, himself a Tamil, supported the bill, but spoke damagingly of the Government proposals, and said, respecting the difficulty of dealing with the people:—

"The superstition of the natives is also in their way of benefiting from European medicine. He would relate an instance within his own knowledge. A Hindu gentleman of great respectability in Colombo was once seized with cholera. The day happened to be one of his fasting days. He refused to take any medicine during the day, and brought himself to the point of death. A deception had to be practised on him. The doors were shut, lights introduced and the hands of the clock turned past six in the evening. He then took medicine and he was cured. But it was almost a miraculous cure and the patient attributed his recovery to his having adhered strictly to the rules of his faith. All this showed how much of the success of this measure depends on the kind of men selected for doctors. They should be men who know the caprices and weak points of the coolies and who would

gain their ascendancy over them by persuasion and kindness. Strange faces would simply frighten them yet more, and confirm them in their silly prejudices."

The Auditor-General (Mr. Douglas), who had had experience in Mauritius, agreed from that experience that the planters should not nominate the doctors, but that the appointment of officers should be in the hands of Government. As to the coolies not making use of the district hospitals, what he had seen as a Poor Law Commissioner in Ireland, and, later, as an official in Mauritius, convinced him that this difficulty would soon be removed, and that they would have to guard against a too free use of the institution. The Colonial Secretary (who had formerly been in Jamaica, and is now Governor of the Windward Islands) wound up the debate, and the ordinance passed the second reading by a majority of eight.*

No further opposition was offered, and the bill passed through the several stages, received Her Majesty's sanction, and soon afterwards was put into operation. It has been working nearly three years, and, all things considered, has been a success. English doctors, with native dispensers and assistants, are in every district, and instead of palatial hospitals at a central station, perhaps a score of miles away, each estate, or two estates combined, have erected a two-roomed or three-roomed cottage hospital, as much as possible like the "lines" in which the coolies live. Here, under certain regulations, patients can be visited and attended by their friends. Seventeen committees have been formed to work the ordinance. Amongst the rules agreed upon are the following :—

"That each estate shall provide a book in which the medical officer shall (in the absence of the superintendent) register his visits to the estate, and treatment required by any sick coolies he may have seen. This book must be kept in an accessible place. Unless these rules be attended to no complaint will be entertained by the committee against either the superintendent or medical officer."

"That the medical officer be requested to visit each estate in his district once in each month, and oftener, if necessary."

"That the medical officer shall attend all native immigrants, paid servants, and superintendents of estates, free of any extra charge for his professional advice: in those cases where there are European families, private practice be allowed within the district only."

Returns have not yet been furnished to Government in sufficient number to show the statistical effect of all the care bestowed; but there can be no question as to the increasing amenability of the Malabar to European treatment, and the growing popularity of Ceylon as a field of labour. Prior to the passing of this ordinance each superintendent had a medicine chest, and

* *The Ceylon Hansard* Session 1872-73.

doctored the sick himself, often after a "happy-go-lucky" fashion. Quinine was the great "stand-by," and if it cured in only half the cases in which it was applied, the Tamil cooly ought to venerate the memory of the Countess of Chinchon (wife of a Viceroy of Peru,) who discovered the wonderful properties of the bark of *C. Calisaya* or *C. Succirubra*, as much as Mr. Clements Markham evidently does, and he, in his turn, ought to send one or two copies of his expensive book on this subject to be worshipped as *Swamies* (gods) by the people. The writer was much amused, on more than one occasion, while staying with a planter-friend in the vale of Dumbera, while accompanying him to the various groups of "lines," after the coolies had been mustered, told off in gangs, and sent to their work. The object of the "round," which was made daily, was to see what was the matter with the labourers who were not at muster, and to doctor them if they were ill. The proprietor in question had about eight hundred coolies in his employ, some of whom had been thirty years with him, and their children had grown up under his rule. Consequently his relations with the people were freer, and on a more confidential, patriarchal footing than is usual on estates. Followed by a cooly with a box of medicines he would sally forth, and, at the time he was expected, the sick would be found in all attitudes, outside their dwellings. The preliminary to treatment was for the sick man or woman to show the tongue, then various punches about the region of the chest and lower ribs would be made—(a dangerous procedure it seemed to the looker-on, considering the proneness to disease of the spleen which all Hindus display); finally, inspection over, a strong dose of quinine, dissolved by a strong solvent, would be put into a wine-glass, the patient made to tilt his or her head back to a fearful angle, and the contents poured down the open mouth. The same glass sufficed for fifty sick people. Often, it happened, that what was wanted by the sick cooly was what is, known amongst poor people in England as "kitchen medicine," and the sight in that planter's breakfast room, when the meal was over, was curious and amusing, even if not altogether edifying. What has been thus described is a relic of old days, as much of a rarity nearly as flint weapons or lacustine dwellings, the new sweeping, all-embracing medical rules doing away with the necessity for paternal medical treatment of his coolies by the planter; and, soon, life on the coffee-plantations of Ceylon, will be as stereotyped as that in an ordinary street or square in any town in England. The regular demands for road maintenance, cooly medical aid, and similar things taking the place of income-tax, water, police, and lighting rates, with which the English bungess or citizen is familiar. Civilisation and the tax gatherer are inseparable. If

the state of things detailed, and the medical treatment of the cooly under this circumstances are justifiable, then the statement at the heading of the second section of this paper is borne out, viz., that, in some cases, the legislation of the Government in behalf of immigrants has been of a beneficial character.

III

"RAMASAMI," * (generic name by which the cooly is known) is not slow to admit that he has much to congratulate himself upon in having so favoured a land as Ceylon in which to labour. His hours of toil hardly ever exceed ten per diem, and, as a rule, he does not average more than twenty days' work out of the month. He receives rice from his employer at a certain rate the year through, however prices may fluctuate; if the market rate has been lower than that at which he is supplied the balance is made up to him; if, as is more frequently the case, the planter suffers loss on the transaction, not a cent of this does Ramasami pay.† According to the notions of his class, indeed in the true acceptance of the term, he can become wealthy. Barely six months prior to the time of writing one of the Princes of Travancore delivered a lecture to a literary institution composed of Hindus on a topic very much akin to "self-help," and the example he set before his hearers as most worthy of imitation, was that of a cooly from Travancore who emigrated to Ceylon, was careful with the money he earned, and now (but a few years after proceeding to Ceylon), ranked amongst the prosperous proprietors of estates in the Travancore coffee regions. In the planting districts of Ceylon the Malabars rise to position of trust as conductors of estates, while the capabilities of the race are evidenced in the remarkable career of Sir T. Madhava Rao, the present Prime Minister of Baroda, who commenced life as a clerk in Madras

* A proper name; *Rama* is well-known to students of Hindu Mythology, as being the hero of the epic poem, "*Ramayana*," *Sami*, "god or lord." Literally the name means the Lord Rama.

† Matters have changed somewhat in this respect now, and the high prices of rice ranging in the "fall" of 1876 and the early part of 1877 were, by the great majority of planters, made to fall on the coolies. A curious delusion exists with regard to this practice amongst planters. Because there has been occasionally a small loss it has been claimed that, in bearing this loss, planters have to

pay the equivalent of a land-tax. No reasoning could be more absurd. First, it has to be proved that the planter pays the import tax on rice, which the present writer has never seen established, though he has often heard it asserted, with more or less heat, generally more. Secondly, if a burden at all to the planter, it ought, in common fairness to be charged to the wages' fund, and not put on the land. The present system of imported rice being taxed instead of land is very burdensome to the poorer people, but this is not the place to deal with that question.

on Rs. 20 a month. In Ceylon this race has for its head Sir Coomara Swamy, favourably known in cultured circles in Europe as the translator and annotator of a popular Hindu play, which, with permission, was dedicated to the Queen, "Discourses of Buddha," the Dathavansa, and other works, and who is the Tamil representative in the Legislative Council, whilst a large proportion of the leading members of the Ceylon Bar are of this race. The Indian cooly in Ceylon becomes a very independent being, by no means disposed to submit to what he may think is injustice because the *durai* (master) has commanded it. A traveller in Java, who had had much experience in the coffee districts of Ceylon, describes the great astonishment he felt in noticing the difference between the cringing apathetic manner in which the Javanese labourer received his pay on settling-day, and the bold independent manner in which Ramasami turns over the rupees he has received, counting them two or three times over, and if he is not satisfied, arguing the point with his master. Most amusing stories are told of the independence thus shown by both men and women. Two years ago a scheme was broached, and heartily taken up, for the purpose of establishing schools, on the estates for the coolies. The propounder of the scheme was the Rev. R. Abbay, a member of the eclipse expedition of 1871, who subsequently accepted the post of episcopal chaplain in one of the coffee districts. Schools have been established on all sides, the parents of the children attending being called upon to contribute according to their means to the support of the teacher, books and building being provided by the estate. The Tamil Cooly Mission has been at work for nearly twenty years, specially devoted to the welfare of Ramasami and Carpie and their little ones.* A great annual sacrifice is made year by year by the local exchequer in behalf of the immigrants, which may be stated roughly as follows :—

Expenditure on the North Road and at the Ports of Arrival...	£10,000
For Medical Aid (about)	" 35,000
Loss, through labourers being exempted from contributing to Road up-keep, &c., (about)	" 40,000
	<hr/>
Total ...	£85,000

England made a great sacrifice when it paid £20,000,000 to free the West Indian slaves : the little Crown Colony of Ceylon, besides (in 1818 to 1844) freeing its slaves without a penny of

* It was in connection with this Mission that the ecclesiastical difficulty in Ceylon, which led to an open rupture between Bishop Copleston and the whole of the episcopal Mission Clergy, occurred.

compensation, is deserving well of the Empire for the manner in which it is striving to do its duty to the poor inhabitants of Southern India, who find in its borders, easy work and good pay, with a climate in which to labour not very different from their own, and where different, vastly superior. But the advantage to India of such a neighbour does not end here. The coolies return to their own land, some having journeyed a thousand miles or more (a great thing in itself for a Hindu), and carry with them, to diffuse in the villages, all the culture they have obtained from settled, organised labour and intercourse with a higher civilisation. It is not too much to say that they are thereby leavening the people of Southern India with ideas and influences that, less than a generation hence, will bear fruit, which will probably display itself in a demand for being ruled after a different fashion than that now in vogue, and with an appreciable native element amongst the ruling caste. Such an ordinary commercial matter as the labour supply of the coffee estates of Ceylon is destined, undesignedly, to make that island of great use to India, in a manner and to an extent scarcely conceived. Milton happily conjoined the continent and the island when he wrote of

“India's utmost isle, Taprobane.”

“Happy” conjunction, because the comparatively small population of Ceylon renders it the fittest scene for the experiment that must be made by the British in the East, *viz.*, the marriage of European freedom and energy with Asiatic philosophy and inertia. How this is being done cannot be detailed here ; assuredly it is being attempted, and results are already being achieved which will warrant larger experiments elsewhere,—if only Downing-street officials do not interfere too much. If the Sinhalese, and Tamils resident in Ceylon, can be made as active, energetic, and law-abiding as Britons, there is no race in India which may not become a self-governing, self-restraining, or self-stimulating people, as the special requirement may be most needed. The Buddhist faith, with its Nibbana (Nirwana) of annihilation and its indolent non-proselytising priests, had made of the Sinhalese a slothful people, a most feeble nation. Contact with the British, however, has so put them on their mettle that in keenness of intellect, in acquisitiveness, and in many other respects they are little inferior to the “superior” race. The leaven is working : through the coolies in Southern India it is from the foundations of the social fabric. The process may be slow, but it is likely to be the more stable. And in this respect, as in so much else that is undesigned and (so-called) accidental in this world,—so-called accidental because the laws which rule action of every

kind have not yet been discovered—it may be fairly claimed that the emigration of coolies from Southern India to Ceylon plantations has been of the nature of the mercy which Shakspeare describes as being doubly blessed, “blessing him that gives and him that takes.”

WM. DIGBY.

ART. III.—SIX YEARS OF PUNJAB RULE.

Punjab Administration Reports, 1871-1876.

THE Punjab Administration Report for 1875-76 will not suffer probably by comparison with similar productions of other provinces. It is concise without being abrupt, and interesting without prolixity; not omitting any topic of importance, it nevertheless avoids as a rule the defect of sketchiness. On some matters indeed treated of, we could have wished for fuller discussion, or at the least, fuller information; but this perhaps is a good fault, as while brief, the report does not incur the Horatian reproach of being obscure. The Lieutenant-Governor's opinions on most matters of administration are here given clearly and decisively, in language which is in general happy, almost epigrammatic. This we had a right to expect from the known facility of Mr. Griffin's pen. The peculiar difficulty of writing a good report, that of saying much in few words, seems to be in his hands a peculiar facility; not merely here and there, but throughout the report there are expressions, and turns of sentences, which, when once read, remain in the memory of themselves, as specially appropriate word-settings of the ideas they represent. Yet Pegasus has not always been curbed; the spirit of antithesis has possessed the able Secretary so thoroughly, as once or twice to carry him beyond the bounds of accurate and moderate expression—as we may note further on.

Being a kind of valediction on the part of Sir Henry Davies, the report naturally takes something of the character of a general review of his administration. Though this proceeding may cause us to hear the same thoughts, and in places to read the same words as already have been given in past years, there seems no reason to complain; a general view of an administrator's work, when it can be had as embracing a period of years, is more satisfactory as being more complete than the very partial glimpse possible in the report of any single year. And that ruler is happy who in these days of progress, or at least shifting of mental stand-points, can refer with confidence to former official utterances as still true—true under the fresh light of altered circumstances and longer experience. That the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has been able to do so, is of itself no inconsiderable vindication of his policy and government. In this general retrospect of the affairs of the frontier province from 1871-76, we purpose to accompany him, or speaking more appropriately, to follow him at a respectful distance caused by our consciousness

of inferior ability, of information less familiar, of knowledge less extended.

Taking the order adopted in the report we first come on the political relations with dependent States. These States from their position have, many of them, an intimate and important connection with the internal administration of the province; a connection, or perhaps more accurately, a want of connection, which in many small matters impedes the administration of justice. It is true that in all the States a greater or less degree of assimilation to our procedure has been obtained; but this is very far from being so effective as it might be, were greater stress laid on the point. Let us not be misunderstood: we are not by any means advocating that the procedure of native courts under a native government be made similar to ours in all things—our modes of suing, pleading, appealing, are only in a very small degree applicable to, and appropriate for, the subjects of a government which is, save as regards its allegiance in political matters to the British Crown, irresponsible. But in the very important matters of run of civil process, and criminal warrant, more remains to be attained. Fully one-half the number of districts in the province have on one or more of their sides a native state. Cattle-thieves, abductors of wives, fraudulent debtors, find it easy, and very much to their advantage, to escape over the border, for only in certain cases is their surrender provided for. No improvement can, we think, be deemed satisfactory until the English writ shall run throughout the length and breadth of the province, with equal regularity, force, and despatch. There is nothing ignominious or humiliating in this for a native ruler, and it might be held out to him as a premium for increased efforts and vigilance in securing purity and regularity of administration, that his writs should in like manner be endorsed and served by our own officers.

The importance of the subject is not to be estimated by taking any single case. It is the aggregate of cases causing in numerous instances the defeat of just claims, and the failure of justice, that must be looked at. The foot of the mythic goddess is as leaden in India as elsewhere, and we handicap her more heavily still by putting on her additional weight—a needless one.

The Lieutenant-Governor apparently regards with satisfaction the administration of the native States during the last few years. He writes "that the wholesome influence of English example has generally raised the standard of administration among the native principalities." This no doubt is true—some things done formerly would not be tolerated now-a-days—the force of public opinion bears to some degree even on a Raja; but it is to be feared that though "much is done still more remains to do" in the matter. To any one even slightly acquainted with the internal affairs of

the dependant States, a mournfully long list will come to remembrance of family feuds, of State and zenana intrigue, of drunkenness, of profligacy, and even of alleged barbaric cruelty.

The two States which have exhibited the most marked improvement of late are Bahawalpur and Chamba, both under English officers. Of these Bahawalpur perhaps exhibits the more showy progress, but in Chamba the benefits accruing to the State and people alike, are none the less solid and real. We doubt, indeed, whether, when the government comes again into native hands, Chamba will not exhibit a more equable continuity, or at least, better piece-work of administration than its larger rival. The Secretary of State, sometime ago, expressed a fear lest when the English administration of the State of Bahawalpur ceased, there might be a collapse. This, it need hardly be said, would be an evil not easily repaired, and though the officers who have been in charge are reputedly vigorous and able, yet this very vigour and ability might prove a snare. To indulge in something of a paradox we might put it that no British Resident or Regent should be deputed to a native State, unless he belongs to the conservative party in politics. As an Englishman he will certainly do enough in the way of progress, as a conservative he will not introduce unsympathetic reforms that, when the guiding hand is withdrawn, cannot be permanent. These remarks are, of course, impersonal; the Lieutenant-Governor has himself pointedly denied the existence of any occasion for fear of such a collapse at Bahawalpur as that mentioned, and he is not in the habit of speaking without book.

The young prince of Bahawalpur is described as a hearty, manly lad, and the little Rājā of Chamba, if not quite so robust, is pleasant-mannered and free from affectation. The education of each is conducted by a tutor under the superintendence of the Resident or Superintendent. Government probably appreciate the fact that all hopes of improving native governments must begin and radiate from the central idea of giving good education to the future governors. In this matter we heartily wish the idea of the late Lord Mayo could be carried out thoroughly, in all provinces of the empire, that all rājās and princes should, as boys, attend colleges, instead of being educated singly. The latter system is open to the evident objection of flattering the *amour propre* of the pupil, but this positive injury is hardly so considerable as the negative one of depriving the boy of all chance of learning the lesson, as noble as it is necessary, to give and take, bear and forbear. The objects of the plan we advocate, were meant no doubt to be met partially, if not wholly, by the Government Wards' school at Ambāla, but on many grounds it would seem better to have, as was proposed some little time ago, a school for

young nobles either in the hills or (as at Madhopur) so near their base as to invite the residence of the children of the hill rājās.

The next topic discussed in the report is the burning question of frontier policy. On this point the dictum of Dr. Johnson comes to mind, that he who pursues his investigations beyond the reach of possible information is outside the pale of criticism. Under the present circumstances of public knowledge (and we pretend to no other) concerning matters on the other side of the frontier, there are probably but some twenty persons in India who are competent to criticise the policy with which the Lieutenant-Governor has identified himself. True it is, we know the movements of our officials, the tone of feeling among our zemindars on this side of the line; but what is going on beyond that line; what is the state of hope or fear among those restless masses of savage plunderers; how far, in short, the system of blockade is doing its work this cannot be decisively known as yet. Raids and robberies in the pale of British territory will always be exaggerated, because they are comparatively rare, and a burst of impulsive lawlessness should not be allowed too much weight. We repeat that there are but few men competent to criticise the Government frontier policy, and feeling our own incompetence, we leave these Eleusinian stories unattempted, unexplored; noting, (as a suggestion for those who care to profit by it) the special appropriateness at this time of the homely proverb 'the less said, the sooner mended.'

We come now to much more debateable ground, yet ground which, we think, will be generally admitted as the strongest of all the positions occupied by Sir Henry Davies as a ruler of the Punjab, *viz.* his revenue policy and administration.* Glancing down the list of the commission, with the doubtful exception of the Financial Commissioner, Mr. Egerton, we could hardly name an officer whose personal opinion and authority in such matters, apart from his official position, would carry with it more weight than that of the Lieutenant-Governor himself. As a settlement officer in the Punjab his work stood the test of experience well: it was not less popular, though it was stricter than the assessment, unduly light, as we think, of his successor on partly the same ground. After an experience matured in another province, Sir Henry Davies returned to the Punjab, to find an impulse current, if not prevalent among fiscal officers in favour of light assessments, as the expression of an enlightened and prudent liberality on the part of a beneficent Government, toward a people recently come under English rule, and but half accustomed to the inelastic regularity of cash collections. As a repudiation of the error of earlier

Punjab days when the plunder of over-assessment was committed in more than one district, this rebound was not discreditable to the intellectual sagacity, as it was certainly creditable to the moral sympathies, of those who encouraged it. Yet, in the subsequent history of Punjab settlements, there has been but too conspicuous evidence of the danger of excessive re-action. That the Lieutenant-Governor thinks so is well known both from his personal utterances, and from the official expression of his opinions. In his first yearly review of the administration of the province we find :—

“The Lieutenant-Governor while acknowledging the ability and industry with which settlement officers in the Punjab have carried on their duties, has yet been compelled to refuse sanction to the assessments for a longer period than ten years in most of the districts, the settlements of which have come before him for sanction in the past year. He is convinced that the assessments have generally been framed on too liberal a scale, on data the correctness of which is open to more than doubt, and that the Government has not been permitted to receive its fair share in the general prosperity of the country.”

The case principally referred to was that of the revised settlements in the Amritsar Division, superintended by Mr. E. A. Prinsep. The ingenious ability of this gentleman is well known, and we have neither space nor inclination to enter into the well-worn controversy as to the data and principles governing his assessment. But the following figures showing the decrease in the Government claim at the revised settlement will explain the Lieutenant-Governor's remarks :—

<i>District.</i>	<i>Cause.</i>	<i>Increase.</i>	<i>Decrease.</i>
		<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
AMRITSAR ...	{ Reduced settlement demand ...	.....	45,159.
	{ Water advantage rate ...	64,713	
	{ Progressive <i>jamas</i> ...	11,603	
SEALKOT ...	{ Reduced settlement demand ...	.....	25,452
	{ Progressive <i>jamas</i> ...	12,651	
	{ Reduced settlement demand ...	.....	88,170
GURDASPUR...	{ Water advantage rate ...	23,994	
	{ Progressive <i>jamas</i> ...	6,550	
		<hr/> 1,19,511	<hr/> 1,58,771

There appears, then, a net decrease in the settlement of the division of Rs. 39,260. And when it is remembered that the tract of country is the most populous in the Punjab, and that in two of the districts, besides the common increase of prosperity and cultivation, there had been the special advantage of the development of the Bari Doab Canal, it will be admitted that the settlement officer who should ask the Government to consent to take an

annual share less by Rs. 40,000 than its former one, should be able to make out a very strong case. Whether such case has been made out, will probably never be officially determined; the decision of the Government of India to give effect to the re-settlement for 20 years instead of 10, as sanctioned by the local Government, proceeded on another ground, irrelevant to the merits. An informal promise it was said had been given by a previous Lieutenant-Governor to confirm the assessment, and the good faith of the Government was pledged to maintain that promise. Besides which, the extraordinary delay made in submitting the settlement report rendered any change still more difficult. So the term was prolonged, the Government pocketed the loss, and the zemindars have one less grievance to complain of. They make up for it, however, by increased affection for their remaining stock, in which, first and foremost, is the cry against the water advantage rate. This some time ago used to be so well known and recognised that the poetical talent of the country side embodied it in a not unmusical lament or dirge, sung in the bazar, at *nautches*, and other assemblies, called the "Acre song" the refrain being "we are ill with the acre-disease." The disease probably by this time has died a natural death, as the district officers wisely left it alone, without any stimulus persecution. But to return to the subject of the general assessment. It was almost impossible that contrary views on such an important matter of fiscal policy, expressed by earnest men, convinced of the sufficiency of the data on which such views were founded, should be conveyed without some degree of acerbity, perhaps of personal bitterness. To those who witnessed it, a personal encounter between advocates of the two schools as they may be called, was not without interest. On the one side were ingenuity, boldness in attack and a vehemence and emphasis of expression, exposing (perhaps unfairly) the speaker to the charge of carelessness as to facts. On the other side, a quieter front, a more slowly-moving mind, a more solid judgment and moderate expression. To many the victory here would not seem to belong to the swift.

But there is no need to dwell on such differences. True, a more difficult task has been made for the officer superintending the next settlements, whoever he may be, it will be doubly hard for the Government to win back its own. But no good can be done by talking about this; and, although there are in the report one or two traces of remembrance of the controversy, there is also a graceful notice of one of Mr. Prinsep's many ingenious and thoughtful expedients which may be taken as setting the seal to a chapter of revenue history, which has not been dishonourable to either of the parties who supplied its facts.

Closely connected with the settlement policy is the land and revenue legislation of the province. The land revenue is so em-

phatically the back-bone of the whole frame of the income of the State, and so nearly affects the welfare of its subjects in India, that any measures determining or modifying the limits of landed interests, their acquisition and relinquishment, or the procedure of Government in dealing with such interests, must be of literally vital importance. Here again the present administration bears marks of progress and improvement which cannot be denied. The report is right in saying that when the Lieutenant-Governor assumed office the law relating to the administration of the land was in an extremely indefinite state. A mere glance at the list of Acts passed since then will show how matters are changed; and in such change, a large share of credit must always attach to the local Government, by whose solicitation, or at least advice, the simplification and determination of the law have been brought about. The Land Revenue Act, the Local Rates Act, and the Punjab Laws Act, mark an epoch which began, indeed, somewhat before Sir Henry Davies assumed office; but which came to its full development under his administration: an epoch of codification, which is of itself a significant token of the progress of the country. The earliest and not least important of the local Acts was the Tenancy Act of 1868, which excited so many hopes and so many fears. The report says of this measure:—

“The opinion that it works, on the whole, well has more than once been expressed, but some proposals for its amendment in a few matters of detail not affecting its general principle have recently been submitted to the Government of India.”

As eight years have passed away since the Act came into force, the gauge of its practical power is well known, and the opinion, above noted, is justified by the facts. But among the proposals for amendment it would be interesting to know whether any mention has been made of the necessity of determining more definitely the circumstances judicially to be held as constituting an abandonment of right. It is no secret that local judicial authorities are at variance on the subject. It has been held at one time that an abandonment for even so short a time as one year, voids the right, at another that the full period of twelve years should elapse before the right is extinguished; and yet again on a third occasion, that no definite period within the usual period of limitation can be fixed for the loss of the property and interest, as what is mainly to be looked to, is the intention of the tenant. Such a point as this can hardly be looked on as one of detail, nay, in logical degree, it is of equal importance with the subject of acquisition or ascertainment of the right. And, as time passes on it is evident that the importance of acquisition will relatively diminish, while that of relinquishment must proportionally increase. There are in fact two ways of determining the period

of limitation for abandonment : leading from two different mental starting points. The one looking at the hereditary occupant as in reality a sub-proprietor must treat his right as equally difficult to take away with that of the so-called proprietor. It is the same in kind, only inferior in degree to the latter. The second view regards the right of occupancy as a kind of excrescence, quasi-morbid in character, on the fair trunk of proprietorship ; not as a thing of the same kind, it may sometimes usurp the whole of the usufruct, indeed, but never attain to the dignity of the dominion. An important practical illustration of the difference here indicated is found in the diverse customs prevalent in the province as to the right of tenants whose land has been submerged, or carried away, by river-action, and which is subsequently thrown up, or left dry, and is then re-occupied by the proprietors. In some parts the right of the tenant revives, in others it does not, being considered to have been lost simultaneously with the disappearance of the soil beneath the capricious attacks of the water. The fact shows the uncertain light in which the natives themselves regard the tenure ; but this, if anything, only increases the importance of making the law more certain, and as we think it should be, more uniform. But we must pass on.

The Land Acquisition Act, X. of 1870 : the Cattle Trespass Act I. of 1871 : the Local Rates Act XX. of 1871 : the Land Improvement Act XXVI. of 1871 and the Land Revenue Act, XXXIII of 1871 each and all deal with subjects, on each of which much might be said. True they are all more or less based on previous law, or rules having the force of law, but the clear crystallisation of their legal forms ; the very elaborateness of their procedure ; all points of detail minutely enumerated, mark in their several degrees the change of the Punjab from a Non-Regulation to a Regulation Province—or, if we might dare to give exactitude to a loosely current popular expression—the transformation of patriarchal government into what may not inaptly be termed, social government. Here we touch on another burning question ; it is, if a little consideration be taken, the most nearly universal problem of public and social discussion. Take up any newspaper ; look at the adjectives which the writer prefixes to the nouns, describing acts of public officials ; the adverbs qualifying the verbs, and you will at once see whether he is a patriarchalist or a socialist. The difference, though illustrated by every incident of temporary interest ; every Meares, or Fuller case finds its root, its cause in a radical difference of mental constitution. Most Liberals, as we fantastically call them at home, would be socialists (we are using the word strictly in the temporary meaning we gave it above) ; most Conservatives would be patriarchalists ; but this is as near a generalisation as we may attain. The social and political

divisions will last as long as the world lasts, and will give any one that cares to think about the matter, a good subject for reflection. But the practical outcome is, or should be, this. The canons and principles prevalent in present Indian administration are a necessary or, speaking less invidiously, an inevitable evolution from the social and philosophical principles prevalent in England; it was impossible that with England as it is, India should remain as it was. Whether we should have wished it so soon or not, this state of things has come upon us in the apparently regular succession and development of social phenomena. And thus, instead of lamenting the changed conditions of administration, it is the duty of all, each in his sphere, to meet them and shape them as best may be. It is a saying, wise as it is manful, that we cannot make our circumstances, we can but use them.

As already said, each of these acts would be an interesting text for comment, but want of space prevents us from making remark on more than one—the Local Rates Act. The ruling principle of the measure is, as every body knows, that of providing for local wants by local taxation. The justice of this forming as it did a new impost over and above the regular Government demand, was much canvassed, and some probably still think that injustice was done; but these people, we fancy, have a logic of their own, and are impregnable behind the bulwarks which it affords them. It may safely be said, at least in the Punjab, that the people have learnt to acquiesce in the expediency of the rate if they do not assent to its justice. Important as was the work, popularly ascribed to Sir William Muir, in starting the idea, and organising the procedure and constitution of municipal committees; the work of organising and providing rules for the district committees of local rates, we look on as considerably more important. Towns are pretty sure to advance in social education; the country districts are in much greater need of a fostering hand, of firm yet conciliatory, liberal yet patient guidance to lead them forward and upward. The zemindars in many parts of the Punjab call themselves cattle (*langar lóg*), and truly for all that man's distinguishing characteristic, reason, appears in their daily life and habits,—the name is severely ironical. To take even the best of these, and educate them not with mere book knowledge, but to act as intelligent and thoughtful councillors as to the best way of spending large sums of money,—to show

‘The reason firm and temperate will,—

this indeed is a work which, if well done, surely must tell more on social progress than any, without exception, of the many schemes now in vogue for adult education and enlightenment, and which to do well, must task all the powers of administrators of

even more than average ability. Under such conditions it is encouraging to find tokens of success, even though that success be but partial.

Sir Henry Davies was able to say nearly three years ago, that though "in not a few instances, district officers complain of apathy and indifference in many districts, the committees give promise of being most useful and popular institutions." If we might pry a little into the secrets of official papers, it would perhaps be found that the tone and conduct of the committee members depend very greatly on those of the president; there is no doubt that the latter office requires a difficult combination of not very common qualities. But that there has been solid progress; that a very considerable leaven of enlightening ideas has fallen on the minds of a great number of the more intelligent class of zemindars; that, in one word, another means of drawing nearer to the native has been herein found, no one can doubt, and that such has been the case is in no slight degree due to the simple yet comprehensive and liberal rules drawn up by the Punjab Government for the procedure of the committees.

From adult education let us turn to that of minors, rightly considered so important as to have gained the name of education *par excellence*. Here again we think rural districts demand more attention than the towns from the administrator. And we would further note that the problem of education now in India is not whether it is good or not. This has already been settled; whether rightly or not, we cannot undo what we have done. We have started a huge machine which we cannot stop; our aim must be to hasten it, at the same time that we guide it. A casual traveller through the ordinary Punjab district would, if he understood the language, hardly fail to discern this. Numbers of the people have new ideas; they begin to think, and it is such a beginning that once made must go on to the end; sweet or bitter according to the wisdom of the rulers of the land. We are in a state of mental transition, and such transition is always dangerous; like a skater hurrying over a piece of unsound ice, to a stronger piece beyond, so is the Englishman in India. We have begun to educate the people; education means consciousness of power; our aim must be to give the masses at the same time that they attain such power, the further consciousness that we reign in India for their good; otherwise our reign here is already, slowly but surely, drawing to its end. All this is really trite enough, but there are signs abroad in high places of its being occasionally forgotten.

Bringing the question nearer to our present subject, we would ask whether this consciousness of the superior beneficence of our Government is spreading as education is spreading in the Punjab. To answer this many data are required, and they are of such a

character that their trustworthiness may seem arbitrary. One of them would doubtless be the tone and opinion of the native press; but at the outset we find this doubtful and difficult to be ascertained. Probably the soundest conclusion would be that, though the native journalists make many an outcry, and talk of many a grievance under our administration, yet very few really think a native government half as good. It is pretty certain that for them in particular it would not be half as tolerant. The human mind in a certain stage of development has a greater propensity to blame than to praise, and this is the mental phase at present of most of our native contemporaries. In itself it is not important, as there is no reason to think that the best minds are represented in the native press, but it is undeniable that the influence exerted on the minds of those natives, who read the papers is prejudicial. The Punjab native press is probably not so bad as some journals of the same class down country, but remarks, and even longer articles and paragraphs appear in it which certainly would be tolerated by no government in the world save our own. What is wanted is a liberal but firm and vigorous censorship of the press exercised with a view to secure, not a servile adulation, it is true, but yet a loyal support of the Government on the broad lines of its administration, a support quite compatible with a manly independence and freedom in criticising matters of detail.

But there is a much more important factor in the answer to our question, that is, the influence of education as given in Government schools on the boys taught. And this answer is indicated, if not directly pronounced, in the following extract from the report:—

“With respect to the moral influence of our schools, the Lieutenant-Governor has on former occasions remarked that the too frequent result of an English education is seen in the deterioration of manners, which in natives of any position, trained under their own system, are exceedingly good. To teach modesty, politeness and respect for superiors is a very important part of the training of boys; and this is too much neglected in our schools. ‘Education,’ it has been well said, ‘is not and cannot be, a thing of vocables. It is a thing of earnest facts, of capabilities developed, of habits established, of dispositions dealt with, of tendencies confirmed and tendencies repressed.’ Instruction should go hand in hand with discipline; morality should be taught as well as grammar; and if boys do not leave school more honest, truthful and industrious than they entered it, their education has been a failure, even though they should be able to say in what metre *L’Allegro* is written and explain the meaning of the obsolete words in Chaucer’s poems.”

It may be noted in passing (as was remarked to us by an educational officer high in his department), that in the Punjab at least

the absurdity suggested in the last sentence is generally wanting. It is not the aim of the system to give a minute knowledge of antiquated or obsolescent English. But leaving out such a comparatively small item of results to be striven after, what strikes the reader is the sanguine nature of the writer. The boy must become modest, polite, respectful, honest, truthful, industrious, and what are the means used to make him so? For some years he reads primers, and the immortal *Gulistan* and *Bostan*, expurgated so far as they may be of their most abominable expressions. Then he comes to English readers, good in their way, but for understanding which he has a very inadequate mental apparatus. His teachers too, except where he comes into contact with English gentlemen, necessarily few in comparison with the native teachers, are lamentably deficient in the requisite mental imagery. We do not wish to make invidious comments on any work, honestly begun, and earnestly carried on, but instances of this will occur to any one who has visited an ordinary English school in the province. It is perhaps desirable always to have a high ideal for

That which we long for, that *we are*
 For one transcendent moment,
 Before the Present, poor and bare,
 Can make its sneering comment.

Yet there are bounds even to the human imagination, and Sir Henry Davies has never been suspected hitherto of wishing to enlarge them, so that the paragraph must be left with the remark, that, admirable as it is in its morality to be attained, it is also admirable (in a sense forbidden to be understood by a Punjab school boy) in its expectation of attaining such morality by the means at present employed. How those means might be modified, improved, enlarged, is too large a subject for incorporation here, but to which we may perhaps recur on a future occasion. Meanwhile let us note a fact which is perhaps known, but cannot, to judge from appearances, be duly appreciated. The school education of the Punjab is as yet, in the main, but a class education. Our pupils are mainly Hindus, and among Hindus only of a few castes. Such a thing speaks for itself in a province where Muhammadans form a numerical majority in the population. But there is an addition to be made to this. The class education is in the main paid for by those who do not receive it. The Hindu *banya's* boy goes to school at the expense, generally speaking, of the Muhammadan zemindar. In a contest where wit, hereditary custom, and tribal acuteness are all on one side, we throw the weight of the assistance of school learning, very considerable when morality is not a desideratum, on that side. To say that this is the fault of the

zemindar is easy, but hardly satisfactory. It rather reflects distrust on the principles governing the application of the money paid rightly enough by the zemindar. There are signs, especially among the more intelligent district committees, that this misapplication is becoming more recognised, and depreciated. Under these circumstances we may soon hope for remedial action.

There are many other subjects we should like to touch on. In an administration such as is recorded in the present report, especially at the present period of Punjab history, matters of interest are very numerous, but they are not to be dealt within narrow limits. Let us take one only, specially important in itself, and by mental association nearly connected with the topic we have just been discussing. Every enlightened ruler must have a pronounced opinion on the principles governing the administration of his jails. It was the out-growth of the 'Christian consciousness' of many centuries that developed a Howard, it is true; but when the hour and the man came, no subsequent retrogression was possible in the country that claims the first rank in human progress. The mental law of ebb and tide has indeed been conspicuous at times in the history of our prisons, but no one doubts that, on the whole, progress has been made. In the Punjab we find the physical side of this progress developed and elaborated to an extent which leaves little to be desired, save perhaps this, that it might not be quite so much thought of. While convicts have a claim on us to see that they are not wantonly killed by starvation, crowding, and epidemics that can be prevented, we do not admit that they should be better housed, clothed, and fed than the free population as a mass. Yet such is the case in the model province. It is sad work jesting on a fact so grimly hurtful in its consequences, but the story of convicts willing to be re-incarcerated is no fable.

It is of no use to speak of general principles if they are not carried into practice. The report, indeed, says with a facility of expression before characterised—

"The first aim of prison discipline is to be deterrent; that is to say, that it should be of so eminently disagreeable and severe a character as to make any person who had been once subjected to it, most unwilling to again find himself within the walls of a jail."

Do Punjab jails fulfil this, 'their first aim?' Notoriously and shamefully they do not. The deterrents most powerful on a native in use at present are those which are inseparable from any system of incarceration, *viz.*, physical detention, and temporary separation from his family and friends. Under the present jail system we know of none others authorised even if they are used. The physical discomfort of irons is tolerated but not

encouraged, it is allowed only as a means of preventing escape not of making discipline more severe. It sounds well doubtless to speak "of teaching moral practice to those who are inaccessible to moral theory by the positive institution of terrestrial rewards and punishments taking immediate and drastic effect! Our moral teaching is of the practical sort, and its sanctions are the whipping-block and the ticket-of-leave." (Whether the 'ticket-of-leave' can be called a 'sanction' in the accurate sense, in which we feel sure the writer would wish to use the word.) But, has the Lieutenant-Governor always practised what here as his valediction is preached—or does he mean herein to show that his opinion is modified as it has been matured? Are there not stray expressions in former reports inconsistent with the present definition of the 'first aim'? Has not whipping been in a desultory and intermittent kind of way discouraged? Have not recommendations been made to punish the common fault of convicts, idleness, with low diet rather than with the sterner, but at the same time more 'drastic' punishment of the whipping-block? Have not high averages of whipping been unfavourably commented on as showing, 'it is to be feared but too plainly, the mental idiosyncrasies of superintendents?' If this means that some men have a sterner idea of duty than others, it is true, but it is also trite. If it means anything else it is, we believe, false, and in its effect most noxious. Instead of calling for explanations of high averages, would it not have been more consistent with the 'teaching of moral practice' so ably set forth above, to set on foot enquiries wherever the Olympian glance on reviewing the jail administration of the province, fell on low ones? The truth is, that while remunerativeness of prison labour is nominally subordinated to its deterrence it has in practice been allowed to press it very hard. Perfect conservancy, excellent ventilation, healthy food, sleep, clothing, and employment—a very moderate amount of daily labour, and a very mild correction of offences against jail discipline, are at present the characteristics of Punjab jails—and for the faults of this *regime*, Sir Henry Davies is largely responsible, just as he enjoys the credit of vigorous superintendence of measures calculated to secure the superior physical well-being of the convict as compared with that of the freeman. A very material modification of the system is imperatively required.

But to pass on to another point of prison theory as here laid down. Next in importance to deterrence, is, as noted, remunerativeness. A long way off, as a very bad third, is the point that jail discipline should be reformatory. We presume that the reformation meant is mental, and not physical; the latter certainly goes on well under a system which sends out numbers of released convicts increased in weight by their incarceration—'fair pledges of a

fruitful tree'—The reason why mental reformation is of so little importance is clearly explained; "the jail population in India "is ordinarily divided into two classes of prisoners; those who "cannot be reformed and those who do not need reformation." Then follows the further elucidation that the latter class are "those who "perhaps in sudden passion, or from some irresistible temptation, "or pressing necessity, or in compliance with respected custom, as "in infanticide or theft, have committed one solitary offence "against person or property."

Does this mean that professional thieves of cattle or other property, thieve only once? If not, the words refute themselves. Pegasus here has got free his wings, and whither does he take us?

"In Europe a pathological disorder has to be dealt with, "the corruptions inseparable from an advanced civilisation; "in India, remedies have to be applied to a physiological disturbance, the criminality which is spontaneous and inevitable in a "certain stage of social growth."

We quite believe, as was said once before the bench on a memorable occasion, that there is 'only one pen in the Punjab that could write like this'. But what does it mean? Balance the terms intended to be inter-antithetic, and what do we get?—a 'pathological disorder', and a 'physiological disturbance'; is not the latter a disorder, and so far as it is a disturbance of the natural functions of the '*corpus publicum*,' is it not a morbid or pathological disorder. 'Corruptions inseparable,' 'criminality spontaneous and inevitable': 'advanced civilization,' 'social growth,' are they not couples expressing the same idea in many and different words, yet at the first reading, they are likely to cheat the reader into the idea that the distinction is real as the expressions are ambiguous. No doubt the good Homer nods at times.

Again, it is hardly fair for a Government report to mention, in a deprecatory way, that convicts very often rejoin their friends on release without the loss of social reputation, so long as Government action in such cases toward securing the social recognition of the offence, is not all that it might be. So, long as perjurers, adulterers, and other persons guilty of supposed 'solitary offences' find no token, after release, of recognition at the hands of Government officials of the reality and heinousness of their dereliction; and worse than this, so long as officials found guilty of bribery, partiality, or the like, and imprisoned in consequence regain, if not their former official position, yet a lower one in Government employ; in one word, so long as Government with a negative action of its left hand undoes, or partly undoes, the positive action of its right hand, what wonder is it that natives with centuries of moral obliquity to stamp their hereditary faculties with folly and vice, should fail at times to recognise the verdicts of tribunals whose

procedure and principles they can but imperfectly understand. In the present fierce competition for Government employ, it is but common-sense as well as justice to enforce, as a rule having no exception, that a Government official once imprisoned for any offence whatever should under no circumstances be allowed to re-enter Government service. A partial recognition of this necessity is found in the practice of gazetting offenders with a view to prevent their being re-employed ; but instances where this precaution has been dispensed with, and where offenders have again obtained service, are neither few nor far to seek.

The question of religious teaching is dealt with at some length and the result arrived at is, that Christianity cannot be taught ; that Hindu and Muhammadan teaching are undesirable, and that moral teaching dissociated from theology is impracticable. The reason given against the first is, that Government teaching Christianity would violate the principles of neutrality which from the first it has set before itself in ruling India. There is, however, something to be said against this ; the 'neutrality' considered of such vital importance is the right, we presume, of free subjects as such, but when the subject is convicted of a criminal offence can his right to his own religion be said to remain intact ? We know of no argument to show that it does. If by teaching him Christianity we can reform him morally and socially, there seems no reason in the world why we should not, as well as teaching him the elevating mysteries of addition and subtraction. Whether or not, under such circumstances, the dogmatic teaching of Christian doctrine would be successful and effective is another matter, but let not one be confounded with the other. If a State professedly Christian does not believe in the practical and working power of Christian truth to make thieves honest, and adulterers pure, then let it say so boldly and decisively, but let it not flatter itself and tickle the ears of its subjects by parading, and ostentatiously guarding a principle which is for the purpose transported beyond its proper sphere. But to return. On page 49 of the summary of the report, we read :—

“ Hard labour, which is almost invariably awarded in the case of long-term prisoners, is very often not given as a part of the sentence of short-term convicts, though these ordinarily include the professional offenders whose residence in jail it is desirable to make so unpleasant as to prevent their return.”

This, which coming where it does, fits in with one of the writer's theories, hardly corresponds with the facts. It would *prima facie* be doubtful to any one knowing the average mental calibre of European magistrates in this country whether any large proportion of offenders got off so easily, and on referring to the appendix we find that they do not. While 2,747 persons imprison-

ed for one month got hard labour (the name is not authorised by the Penal Code) only 457 were incarcerated without it, and while in the six months class 6,000 were subject to rigorous, only 176 enjoyed immunity from penal toil. The longer terms of course show an even smaller proportion of the latter. If the sentences of European magistrates were given separately, the results would probably be even more decided; but as it is, the proposition above quoted is hardly corroborated by the official figures. We do not, indeed, place much reliance on such figures where there is any close comparison, but here there can be no mistake. It is an error wide of the mark to say that any large number of convicts suffer simple imprisonment, and it is practically hurtful as likely to mislead. What is wanted is to make the whole system of jail discipline more rigorous; the 'hard labour' spoken of, really hard; and any negligence or laziness on the part of prisoners in performing it should be habitually punished by the lash—the only thing feared by the convict.

We have now noticed some of the more salient points of Sir Henry Davies' government—but only some. Want of space forbids to dwell on the steady progress in civil and criminal judicial administration; the interest shown by the Lieutenant-Governor in miscellaneous matters affecting the welfare of the province; the attitude of the Government as regards usury and the relations of the zemindar and *banya*. These, and many other matters of interest remain necessarily undiscussed. Were we to discuss them we should certainly have to record our dissent from some views officially expressed in the reports under notice; but we are able, nevertheless, to congratulate the retiring Lieutenant-Governor on the general results of his rule. Reserved, almost cold in his personal manner, Sir Henry Davies has yet, throughout his administration, been able to command the respect of all classes, official and non-official, so far as it can be commanded by a calm vigorous judgment; a temperate and well-weighed procedure; a constant and regulated attention to all matters coming before him. His distribution of patronage is generally admitted to have been fair; his choice of men has been just; and he has shown a consideration for officers under him which goes far in making their services loyal and willing. Following immediately after men whose lot fell in times which, if they demanded great qualities, also gave great opportunities for displaying them; he became prominent in quieter scenes, among more common events. Yet, 'Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war'; and, among those who have gained their laurels in the *toga* and not in arms, no unworthy place will be given to the chief actor in the last six years of Punjab Rule.

A PUNJABI.

ART. IV.—THE BENARES RIOTS OF 1809-1811.

THE years 1809 and 1810 are two of the most remarkable in the local history of Benares, and the events of those two years, apart from their historic interest, present the curious psychological study of a popular mind, inoculated with riot-virus, sliding by rapid but not violent, transition through the three stages of religious, social and political agitation.

In October 1809 the city of Benares was on a sudden swept by a gust of animosity resulting in the very serious outbreak known in the records* as "the Lât Bhairo riots." But more remarkable than this riot itself was its after result. The popular mind seemed to have been thoroughly poisoned. Every one was agog for tumult and mischief. Any pretext for agitation served to stir the city to its depths. The original disturbance marked only by shocking religious outrages had completely subsided in June 1810. But the last of the correspondence regarding it leads the reader without a break into a lengthier series of letters regarding a new source of trouble—a singular feud that had sprung up between the military and the police. The result was a long succession of petty affrays, but also a fortunate diversion of popular attention from religious matters. The sepoys carried on a guerilla warfare in the streets of the city against the police, and in either body Hindus and Mussulmans were indiscriminately mingled. Towards the end of the year this curious embroilment subsided and a partial reorganisation of the city police (effected in October), may be said to close the second episode of this eventful year. Before, however, the city had thoroughly quieted down, the House Tax Regulation (XV. of 1810) had been extended to Benares, and from the ashes of the sepoy-police agitation, the phoenix of riot rose in all its original strength and the year closed, as it had opened, in popular tumult. And so it came about that the 10th of January 1811 found Benares, as the 1st of January 1810 had found it, seething with clamorous mobs and troops holding the city.

When Aurungzebe, bent on humiliating the Hindus to the utmost, threw down temples and in their place erected mosques, he built upon the ruins of the old Bisheshwar fane, a Mussulman place of worship. Under his successors, however, the Hindus built another temple to Bisheshwar as near as possible to the original site, and thus it has come about that there stand in Benares, wall

to wall, the Mahommedan mosque and the Hindu temple—a fruitful source of ill-will between the rival religions. In 1809 this ill-will culminated in a sudden outbreak of religious fury. The crisis lasted only three days, but for that time there was hourly imminent the wholesale massacre of the Mahommedan population. The admirable conduct of the troops and the extraordinary exertions of Mr. W. W. Bird (acting as city magistrate), alone averted a most shocking catastrophe.

The Mahommedans concerned were of the lowest order, butchers and weavers. Among the Hindus were many of rank and influence. The Rajputs to a man, great and small, mixed eagerly in the mêlée and were prominent in it, with one exception however, Bissumbher Pandit. On neither side were there men of the very highest position; the Raja of Benares and the family of Mirza Jewan Bukht were alike thanked by Government for withholding their countenance to the rioters. As regards the religious classes, it is noteworthy that the higher Brahmins took no part in the riot. They expressed throughout a dignified and seemly grief and listened to reason when the magistrate asked their assistance to quell the excitement. It was a Brahmin who saved from death the child of the murdered Mutwali of the mosque. The lower religious classes of Gosains, however, behaved throughout with obstinate fanaticism, headed the mob in their atrocities, murdered, robbed and burned with their own hands, and opposed from first to last the restoration of order.

The following account of this outbreak is compiled from the records of the Benares Collectorate; but before entering on the narrative, I give from Mr. Sherring's work on Benares, an account of the famous "Lât of Shiva" as it is at present, together with a few notes on the Bisheshwar temple, the Kapilmochau tank and Gyanbaffi mosque, the three sacred places most prominent in the riots described in this article.

"To the north of the road leading from the Rajghat Fort to the cantonments, at the distance of from three-quarters of a mile to a mile from the former place, is the Kapilmochau tank. It is also called *Bhairo ka Talao*, or the tank of Bhairo. On the high ground to the north of the tank stands a pillar from 7 to 8 feet in height, and three in thickness, situated in the midst of a slightly elevated stone *chabutra* or platform. * * *

"This is the Lât or pillar of Shiva.* It is the representative of an ancient pillar which formerly stood on this spot and was thrown down by the Mahommedans in a struggle between them and the Hindus some sixty years ago. There is some ground for supposing that the present pillar is a fragment of the ancient one † and that it very likely bears a portion of the carv-

* It is worth noting that this pillar is never once in the Records, not even by the Hindus in their memorial, see later, called "the Lât of Shiva." It is always "the Lât of

Bhairo."

† There are grounds also for supposing that the remainder of the Lât was buried close by. Such at any rate, was the suggestion of the ma-

ing known to have been on the original column.* The pillar was once situated in the enclosure of a Hindu temple; but that ruthless monarch destroyed the temple, and in its place erected a mosque, leaving the curiously carved pillar, either as an ornament to the grounds, or under a wholesome dread of provoking to too great a pitch the indignation of his Hindu subjects.† * * *

The Hindus, however, continued to pay divine homage to the pillar, which although repugnant to the feelings of the Mahomedans, was nevertheless endured by them, especially as they were permitted to receive a portion of the offerings. * * *

"The natives say, that after the furious collision between those two great sections of the people in the city, the pillar was removed to the bank of the Ganges and thrown into the river."‡ * * *

Mr. Sherring then goes on to give an account of the disturbance which, as it does not coincide with the narrative of the records, I have omitted. Mr. Sherring supposes the riots to have occurred during, or soon after the Mohurram in February; whereas it will be seen they took place in October, there being then no Mussulman festival in progress. The Hindu Dewali occurred, however, immediately after the first disturbance. Mr. Sherring then continues—

"The Lât was in all likelihood destroyed by fire, the action of which on sandstone soon causes it to crumble to pieces. As there is strong reason for believing that this was one of Asoka's pillars, it would be exceedingly interesting to inspect the remaining fragment, which we may reasonably suppose to belong to the original column, and in that case to possess a portion of an inscription sufficient to certify its connexion with Asoka, or with the Guptas, or with some other monarch by whom the column was erected. * * *

"It is important in our present investigation, to know that the pillar once stood in proximity to a temple, or in its court-yard; the temple was destroyed by Aurungzebe, and on its site, a mosque was erected, the court-yard of which enclosed the pillar. On examining the terrace where the Lât stands, we see quite distinctly that the upper portion has been thrown up in modern times, and that the ancient level of the ground was some six or eight feet lower than what it now is. * * * In this case the length of the existing fragment would not be less than from 14 to 16 feet."

Bhairo, or Bhaironath, is at this day worshipped in 8 temples. He is the deified *Kotwal* of Benares, and the gods and saints whose shrines abound on the *Panch Kosi* road are his constables. His baton, *Dândpan* (*danda*, a stick) shares divine honors with

gastrate to the Brahmms who, in all other points connected with the re-purification of the pillar, acted upon his advice. If the Lât was really buried at all, the place would probably be found either near the present stump or on the original site, which, when all the disturbances were suppressed, was formally purified and re-consecrated.

* Elsewhere Mr. Sherring surmises that the original pillar was about

10 feet high. See, however, the memorial.

† Aurungzebe, it may be suggested, left the pillar standing because he considered it (as did all the other Mahomedans) to be the work of Feroze Shah.

‡ The Ganges, as Mr. Sherring in another place observes, was half a mile distant, and this was therefore improbable.

Bhairo ; for while the Kotwal takes his ease this intelligent cudgel looks after the *budmashes* of the city of its own accord, and beats those found committing such crimes as are properly cognizable by the police.

The following is also from Mr. Sherring's work :—

"The Hindus had a tradition," writes the Rev. William Buyers in his *Recollections of Northern India*, "that the pillar was gradually sinking ; it having, according to report, been once twice its present height, and it was also prophesied, that when its top should become level with the ground all nations should be of one caste. The throwing down, therefore, of this pillar was regarded as most ominous and dangerous to Hinduism. * * *

The whole Hindu population, headed by the Brahmins and devotees, rose in fury on the Mussulmans and attacked them with every sort of weapon within their reach. One mosque was pulled down, and they determined to destroy every other in the city ; but the civil authorities, with all the military force that could be collected, interposed, and by putting guards to defend the mosques, succeeded in saving them. In the early part of the quarrel the Mussulmans, in order to be revenged on the Hindus for the defeat they had sustained, had taken a cow, and killed it on one of the holiest ghâts, and mingled its blood with the sacred water of the Ganga. This act of double sacrilege was looked on by the Brahmins as having destroyed the sacredness of the holy place, if not of the whole city, so that salvation in future might not be attainable by pilgrimage to Benares. They were, therefore, all in the greatest affliction ; and Brahmins in the city, many thousands in number, went down in deep sorrow to the river side, naked and fasting with ashes on their heads. But the British functionaries went to them, expressed their sorrow for the distress in which they saw them, and reasoned with them on the absurdity of punishing themselves for an act in which they had no share, and which they had done all they could to prevent or avenge. This prevailed, and after much bitter weeping, it was resolved that Ganga was Ganga still ; Mr. Bird (the chief English official in Benares)* who was one of the ambassadors on this occasion, said that the scene was very impressive, and even awful. "The gaunt, squalid figures of the devotees, their visible and, apparently, unaffected anguish and dismay, the screams and outcries of the women who surrounded them, and the great numbers thus assembled, altogether constituted a spectacle of woe such as few cities but Benares could supply."

In the weavers' quarter of the city, and chief among the *julahars*, lived two brothers Dost and Fattch Mahomed. These persons exercised within their *mahuls* undisputed authority over every one of their community, and gave the final decision in all questions of common interest. No general assembly could be convened but in their name, singly or conjointly, and they presided in person at every consultation of importance. Now, among the Hindus scattered here and there in the midst of this large Mahomedan fraternity, "was a Nagar, by name Madhu Rai" who

* Mr. Bird was officiating for the magistrate. This outline of the events of 1809 is so generally correct that Mr. Buyers must, I think, have had

access to the records. The last sentence is, moreover, quoted from a letter which does not now exist in the records.

fell ill, and learning in a vision that his ailment was the work of a *bhūt*, vowed to Hanuman that if he foiled the evil spirit, his dwelling of mud under the *pipal* tree by the Bisheshwar temple should be changed to one of stone. The Nagar got well, and in discharge of his vow, collected materials to erect a stone wall round the idol. The site, however, was a portion of the long-contested ground common to the mosque of Aurungzebe and the Bisheshwar temple, and the Mahomedans taking umbrage at the innovation, warned the Nagar to desist from his pious work, promising, however, to hold a meeting for the drawing up of a formal remonstrance for presentation to the authorities with whom should rest the final decision between the Nagar and themselves. Madhu Rai accordingly desisted, and on the evening of October 19th, Dost Mahomed went down in person to the Kotwal, and explaining what had been done, obtained that functionary's assent to a *punchayat* of the *julahars* at the Gyanbaffi mosque next day. Early in the morning it became evident to the residents of the weavers' quarter that a great event was pending, for a notice, emanating from Dost Mahomed, was in circulation convening a general assembly at the *Imāmbārah* in question.* As evening drew in, word went round that there would be no prayers at sunset in any of the mosques in the neighbourhood, and that those who wished to pray should repair to the mosque within the old Bisheshwar enclosure. The result was a most unusual muster of the faithful at prayer. The disputed ground was crowded with Musalmans who filled not only the space strictly attached to their mosque, but all the terrace of the *Lāt* of Bhairo and the precincts of the Bisheshwar. Nor when the prayers were over did the crowd disperse. Perhaps Dost Mahomed had given the hint, or perhaps it was spontaneous enthusiasm, but anyhow the Mahomedans set to work to pollute the *Lāt* and such of its surroundings as they knew to be held sacred by the Hindus. The pedestal on which *Hanuman* was seated was tilted over, the *tulsi* tree hard by was pulled up, and the great *Lāt* itself was beaten with shoes. The gravity of the mischief they had committed does not seem to have suggested itself to the mob, for after hanging about the mosque till a late hour they quietly dispersed, having meanwhile settled the real business of the evening (the discussion as to the Nagar's wall), by a resolution to present a remonstrance against the erection next day. All this while, however, there had been three Hindu spectators of the sacrilege, the Jogi who had charge of the *tulsi* tree, the Jogi of the *Lāt*, and the Nagar devotee of *Hanuman*; and while the Mahomedans were still wandering about the sacred premises, these three had fled in horror into the

* This, was the place of worship built by Aurungzebe on the ruins of the old Bisheshwar.

city. The news soon spread, and before daybreak the whole Hindu community had heard of the sacrilege. At early dawn a crowd began to assemble at the Lát. The acting magistrate * on receiving the news, at once proceeded to the spot and persuaded the Hindus already there to disperse. Apprehending, however, a re-assembling of the angry mob, he obtained from the General commanding the division, two companies of sepoys for the protection of the Mahomedan places of worship. By noon his apprehensions were realised, for the Hindus were again assembling in large numbers. The restlessness that now began to pervade the whole city warned Dost Mahomed of coming danger. News came in that a crowd of Rajputs were on their way to the Lát, and soon after a messenger arrived to say that the Hindus had attacked and polluted the Imambarah of Aurungzebe. He accordingly convened a meeting of the leading Chowdries of the Julahars at the Chand Rahmat Ghazi mosque, and soon afterwards a general assembly of the Mahomedans at "Summigh Khel." The pretext for these meetings was the drawing up of the remonstrance against the Nagar's stone wall, but the real motive was the arrangement of measures of self-defence against the time when the Hindus should retaliate. The word went round, and soon not a Mussalman was left in the weavers' quarter. They poured out to the Summigh Khel, and the meeting was excited and enthusiastic. With their numbers their courage increased, and at length it was resolved by acclamation to anticipate the retaliation of the Hindus by a supreme outrage—nothing less than the sacking of the Bisheshwar temple! Of all the temples of Benares that of Bisheshwar or Shiva was, and is, the most honoured, for Bisheshwar is the king of the gods.

The idea was a fine one in its audacity, but had it been successfully carried out, Benares would have been given up to slaughter, and history have recorded a most terrible religious convulsion. The utter annihilation of the Musalmans, their families and places of worship, would hardly, so said the Hindus, have been an adequate compensation for such an insult to Bisheshwar. The design, however, failed. At first the rumour that the Julahars were marching on the temple was not credited. It seemed too extravagant for belief. But as messenger after messenger came in to say that they had met, marching through Tallia Nalla in the direction of the great temple, bodies of Mahomedans, armed, with standards hoisted, striking their breasts and shouting their cry of "Hasan, Husain," the crowd of Hindus at the Lát awoke to the danger. The news meanwhile had flashed through the city, and from all the bazars came Rajputs running arms in hand, and Brahmins trooping

* Mr. W. Bird. The Magistrate was Mr. Watson, absent at the time in Calcutta.

behind with cries of distress and invocations to Shiva. All steps were directed to the threatened temple. At Gayeghat the two streams met, and at once without a word of parley, the conflict began. Both sides were well armed with matchlocks, swords and spears, and had the battle-field been an open space instead of a narrow passage, the whole Julahar crowd would assuredly have been destroyed. The precincts of the temple were choked with clamorous Hindus, and every avenue to the shrine of Bisheshwar was closely packed with armed Rajputs. Dost Mahomed, however, led his army* to the attack, but against solid walls of men better armed than themselves, the Julahars had no chance, and when he saw their front-rank beaten back at every point he gave the word for a rapid retreat, and the Mahommedan crowd leaving eighty of their number dead, suddenly melted away. Expecting their return the Hindus remained in battle array, but Dost Mahomed had other plans, and while the crowds round the Bisheshwar were increasing, the Julahars were retracing their steps at full speed to the Lát.

Here, meanwhile, exciting events had been in progress. Hindus and Musalmans had each in turn desecrated the holy places. The latter had pulled the tiled roof off from the Hanuman and scattered over the terrace the idols that had stood under the *pipal* tree. The Hindus had retorted by pelting with shoes the Haji who was reading the Koran and by tearing up his book. But the police were in force. Mr. Bird himself was on the spot and with him was an escort of regulars. Comparatively, therefore, the peace had been preserved, but every minute the crowds had been increasing, arms began to be brandished, and the vociferous interchange of imprecations and abuse filled the sacred precincts with uproar. Just at this juncture had come the news of the march of the Julahars on the Bisheshwar, and almost to a man the Hindus had fled to the threatened shrine. The Musalmans had streamed out with them, and Mr. Bird to look after both parties, had despatched the regulars and the Hindus of the police force to the defence of the Bisheshwar. The Lát was therefore deserted. Except some Mahommedan policemen not a soul was there.

The attack on the Bisheshwar had now been made and foiled, and the Mahommedan army, returning as it happened by another route to that taken by the crowds rushing to the Bisheshwar, arrived at the Lát—and found it defenceless. They at once proceeded to mischief. A cow was dragged out from a neighbouring house and killed at the foot of the pillar. Its blood was taken into every corner, till all the sacred place was splashed with it, and then the carcass was flung, with shouts of exultation, into the holy

There were seven or eight thousand Julahars at his command.

tank of Bhairo. Firewood was heaped round the Lát and lighted, to destroy no doubt the metal appendages of the pillar; and finally amidst cries of triumph, the Lát itself was overthrown, shattering in its fall into many pieces! This accomplished, the crowd rapidly dispersed. Long before this a few Hindus who had turned back when the majority of their brethren fled to save the Bisheshwar, had carried the news of what was going on into the city. And so for the second time, on this eventful day the whole place was absolutely deserted. Mr. Bird was among the first to hear of the sacrilege, and returning in hot haste from the Bisheshwar, arrived at the Lát to find himself the only person on the scene of the outrage. Nor though he waited until late into the night, did any crowd return. The Hindus from horror of the sacrilege would not visit the defiled spot; they remained surging round the Bisheshwar. The Mahommedans terrified at the tempest they had now raised were awaiting an attack in their own quarter. A strong guard was placed at the Lát all night, but morning came without anything occurring to disturb the peace.

The story now changes from Dost Mahomed the Julahar to Rattan Singh, Rajput. From this point to the murderous finale the weaver brothers do not figure again. The Mahommedans had had their hour of triumph and were now cowering in their houses before the tumult they had so wantonly excited.

The city, however, had not slept all night. The bells of all the temples had been ringing from sunset to dawn. The bazars were, many of them, as full of life as if the sun were shining. The houses were all alight, and the constant hurrying to and fro of people, the unusual number of the police, and the occasional passage of a body of regulas, combined to form a scene of strange excitement. In the Rajput quarter, at the houses of Rattan Singh, Mannear Singh, Sheodial Singh and Outar Singh, secret meetings were held, and there, as well as in some of the temples, an oath was administered to the Hindus to avenge their outraged gods. It had so happened that, some weeks before this, a butcher had killed a cow in the sight of Rattan Singh, who ever since had been brooding over the deed, and long before the outrage on the Lát had given the Hindus good reason for their wrath, had been trying to excite his caste fellows to active indignation. The outrage on the Lát came in therefore most opportunely for his purpose. The day broke, and as hours passed, it almost seemed as if in the stir of the preceding night the wrath of the Hindus had effervesced. But about noon, just when the city should have been seeking its siesta, there was a sudden call to arms, and as if from the earth a vast throng of armed Rajputs, some thousands strong, poured out, and led by Rattan Singh and Mannear Singh, took their way to the Lát. Behind and mixed up with them were hundreds

of Gosains, screaming out invocations to the god, and by their cries and gestures exciting the armed crowd to a frenzy of fanatical rage. At headlong speed the avengers traversed the intervening streets and soon arrived at the outraged Lât now lying in fragments on the ground and splashed with cow's blood. The mosque of Aurungzebe was soon in flames. Every Mahomedan found lurking within its precincts was put to the sword, and his body thrown into the blazing pile. A hog was brought in, killed at the pulpit, and its blood sprinkled over the corpses and ashes.* Meanwhile the passage of the Rajputs and Gosains through the streets had filled the city with fanatical excitement, and from end to end Benares was given up to pillage and slaughter. The people had slipped from the control of the authorities, and Mr. Bird finding his handful of regulars useless against the armed multitude, withdrew them to follow Rattan Singh, and his Rajput force, and to save, if possible, other places of Mahomedan worship. Those rioters though they had wreaked their vengeance, were still on the spot gloating over their havoc when the magistrate arrived. This moment was the most critical of the riots.

Prominent among the Rajputs was Mannear Singh, the chief man in the whole Puril Mohallah and, obedient to his least hint, were mobbed round him all the Rajputs of Benares, armed to the teeth and intoxicated with religious enthusiasm. A word from Mannear Singh and the next minute would have seen the magistrate and all his regulars added to the list of dead.

Mr. Bird knew this, and feeling that the presence of the sepoys would irritate the rioters while their number would excite only contempt, entered the sacred place alone, and called on Mannear Singh to come down from the terrace. The Rajput obeyed. Mr. Bird ordered him to disperse his force, and without a moment's hesitation Mannear Singh gave the order! There was soon not a Rajput in the place. The conduct of Mannear Singh, wrote Mr. Bird, "preserved the life of every man with me."

Once however out of sight of the representative of Government the Rajput recovered himself and gave the order to make for

* The memorial of the Musalmans (see p. 112) gives a fairly accurate account of the condition of the city at this time, but refers only incidentally to the following touching episode of the murderous attack on the mosque: While hunting about for victims in the precincts of the mosque, a child some 11 years of age, the son of the Mutwali of the mosque, was dragged out from his hiding place to where

his father's corpse was lying, and a Gosain struck at him with a sword. The lad held out his hands to ward off the blow, and fell on his father's corpse severely wounded. Before the blow could be repeated, a Brahmin rushed forward and catching up the young Musalman in his arms, defied the murderers to harm him. Eventually the child was given up by its protector to the Magistrate.

the Durgáh of Fatima * and the Prince's tomb † on the other side of the city. Thither Mr. Bird pursued them. The Rajputs, when he arrived, were already at work breaking up the tombs round the Durgáh, but the order was given to the sepoys to fire in the air. The rioters upon this withdrew, but after a few moments' hesitation rushed forward again. A second volley was fired, and this time, whether by accident or not, the leading Rajput was killed. The advance was again checked, but the uproar became tremendous. At this critical moment there came quite unexpectedly on the scene a company of regulars. After a second consultation Rattan Singh gave the order for a retreat, and the rioters withdrew taking the corpse with them. The reinforcement of troops that had so opportunely arrived was a strong one, so leaving an adequate guard at the *Durgah*, the magistrate divided the remainder, and sending Major Leslie into the city by one route entered himself by the other. The whole of Benares he wrote "was in the most dreadful uproar and confusion. The temples were shut and multitudes of armed Hindus were assembled in every quarter directing their rage chiefly against the lives and property of the weavers and butchers. The Gosaines were busy dilapidating the Gyanbafi Musjid and had set fire to it. Several bazaars were in flames, and the whole quarter of the Julahars was a scene of plunder and violence." Parties of troops were soon, however, scouring all the streets, and in two hours all the people were driven within doors or on to the sands of the river. But by this time some fifty Musjids had been destroyed, and from the streets were gathered in, dead and wounded, a hundred persons. The number removed by their friends to escape implication in the riot must have been much larger,

The night passed tranquilly, and next day in spite of the great agitation everywhere prevailing, the rioters could make no head. The city was completely in the power of the large military force now quartered in it. On the 24th Mr. Bird conferred with the Brahmins, and with their concurrence opened the Hindu temples. The shops then began to be opened and gradually the city resumed its usual appearance. A proclamation ordering the people to return to their daily avocations, and threatening with punishment the wearing of any weapon in the streets, was issued on the 25th. It was universally obeyed and Benares returned to comparative peace. For a time the order of Government directing all the rioters to be tried according to the usual procedure (the verdict dependent upon the fatwa of a Mahomedan) renewed the agitation; and when, after receipt of the memorials (see later) Government directed the magistrate to express to both parties its

* The mother of the Imam Hussein.

† Erected by the sons of Prince

Jewan Bukht, to the memory of their father, and held in the highest veneration by the Mahomedans.

dissatisfaction with the tone of their respective documents, the general uneasiness prevalent became so pronounced, that troops had again to be called in to hold the city. The order insisting on the fatwa was however withdrawn, and the disturbance gradually died out. For some months, however, guards remained near the chief places of worship of either religion, and it was not until June of the following year, when the Hindus reconsecrated their outraged shrines, that the first riot can be said to have actually concluded.

Such is the narrative of the actual outbreak—the Lât Bhairo Riot—but equally interesting are some of the subsequent events and the correspondence concerning them.

The festival of the Diwāli came on immediately after the cessation of the riots, and it was with the greatest difficulty the Gosains could be restrained from attempts to rekindle the smouldering wrath of the Hindus. They obstinately refused to illuminate their houses and did their best to persuade others to sulk also. The following extract from one of Mr. Bird's letters shows the danger that may in any future religious disturbance be expected from the misdemeanour of the lower religious orders.

"The mohunts, Chitun Gir, Moti Gir, Sheodeo Gir, Kishendial Gir, are the superiors of an order of Hindus denominated Gosains, and exercise over the minds of this class of people a very peculiar kind of influence from the singular nature of their institutions and habits. The lower orders are peculiarly in subjection to the will of their superiors, whose privileges secure them a deference and respect, especially in religious matters, which rank and riches alone cannot command.

19. On the 21st of October, the Gosains in general took no active part in the disputes at Copaul Moolun between the Julahars and the Rajpoots. The Bisheshwar was threatened with attack, the Lât Bhairo was absolutely destroyed, without a single effort on their part to prevent it; on that day the Rajpoots presented the only obstacle to the excesses of the Julahars, but on Sunday, the 22nd, when a scheme had been concerted to retaliate on the Mahommedans at large, for the injuries done to the religion of the Hindus the Gosains were foremost in the work of vengeance. It has been already stated that I was compelled to quit the city at 11 o'clock, to oppose the Rajpoots assembled at the Immambara; at this favourable moment the prisoners armed themselves without delay, and collecting the chief people of their caste, proceeded with the mob of Gosains to the spot which is the site both of the temple of Bisheshwar and the Gyanbafi Musjid. This mob soon set fire to the musjid and murdered all the people who were attached to it. The prisoners leaving this work to the populace quitted the Bisheshwar and followed by multitudes of armed people traversed the city to the Churn Padka, a Hindu place of sanctity on the bank of the Ganges; here they remained assembled until my return to the city at one o'clock, when the Hindus being driven from the musjid, the multitude quitted the Churn Padka, and collected in the streets and avenues, surrounding the Bisheshwar; here the prisoners did not remain long, they thought it prudent to return home, but the multitude of Gosains who attended them, proceeded to carry fire and sword into the different quarters of the city until they were finally driven away by the efforts of the military.

On the 23rd of that month, the Brahmans and other superior orders of

the Hindus, who were sitting fasting at the ghâts and who had abstained from food since the evening of 20th, were with some difficulty persuaded by Major Leslie and myself to disperse and take their ordinary nourishment, in order to allay the apprehension of the people ; among these respectable men there were no Gosains or any one who had taken a part in the disturbance. But on the morning of the 24th, the prisoners assembled with the whole body of Gosains and seating themselves upon the ghâts, remained there in spite of all remonstrance until the agitation occasioned by it threatened a renewal of those horrors from which the city had so recently been rescued. I was compelled to go in person to remove them. For this conduct they have not even a tolerable pretext. They collected not like the Brahmmins on the 23rd from religious principle, but for the purpose of obtaining concessions which they were fully conscious nothing less than the danger to be apprehended from their influence and example could ever extort at a time when the public authority naturally looked for support to the most respectable of its subjects."

Not less striking than the difference of conduct between the Gosains and the more respectable Brahmmins, was the difference between the conduct of the police and that of the military during these occurrences.

The former divided themselves into two parties, Hindu and Musalman, and wherever they were stationed sided with their co-religionists against each other instead of combining to preserve the peace against all comers. Thus the Hindus, who were despatched from the Lât to help to defend the Bisheshwar, used all their authority to excite the people to retaliation on the Musalmans, and on their way released from the police a number of Hindus who were being taken to the Kotwali for having joined in the disturbance ; and when on the 22nd, two Mahommedans were murdered close to the Thauna, the Hindu constables on duty neither interfered nor apprehended the murderers. On the other hand, the Musalmans, who had been retained at the Lât and who were therefore on guard when their co-religionists returned from the unsuccessful attack on the Bisheshwar temple, not only did nothing to stop the sacrilege that at once commenced, but refused subsequently to identify any of those concerned. The Kotwal himself was a Musalman, and for his supposed complicity with his co-religionists went in danger of his life till he resigned his post.

The soldiers, however, maintained throughout the utmost discipline, and, whether Hindu or Mahommedan, remained true to their trust of guarding the places of worship of either denomination, acting as effectively against their co-religionists as against other disturbers of the peace.

The problem of punishing the rioters remained to be settled, and a very difficult one it proved. The Mahommedans it was true had commenced the riot, but on the other hand the Hindus had exacted a very ample retribution. The latter, however, when all

was over, considered themselves the injured party, and such was their agitation that the magistrate, Mr. Watson, wrote (October 30, 1809). "I am convinced that if some satisfaction is not afforded to the Hindus, they will be glad at a future period to seize a favourable opportunity for completing the destruction of the Mahommedan places of worship within the limits of their holy city."

By the law, as then existing, the sentences passed on the offenders would have been dependent on the fatwa of the Mahommedan law officers, but as the present trials were some of them, those of Mahommedans, who by their law had acted very meritoriously in committing the very acts for which they were to be tried, and the rest of the prisoners were Hindus in custody for killing Mahommedans and defiling their places of worship, the usual procedure, Mr. Bird suggested, was inappropriate. The Nizam-at-Adalat, to whom the point was referred, saw, however, no reason for dispensing with the customary fatwa. The acting Magistrate again protested :

"It cannot escape his Excellency that, although common sense and natural justice must view the excesses of both parties as equal offences against the public peace, the authority of Government and the welfare of the society, still the fundamental principles of the Musalman law are diametrically at variance with such a sentiment. That law resting on the assumption of the excessive sanctity of the Mahommedan religion and the heresy of all other modes of belief, will consider the slightest insult offered by a Hindu to a place of Musalman worship as a heinous sacrilege and profanation, while in the greatest outrages committed against any object of Hindu superstition, it will see nothing but a laudable attempt at the extirpation of idolatry.

6. On the line of conduct which Government may adopt upon this delicate occasion will depend the future peace of the city. To the impartiality of a British administration equally to attend to the religious prejudices of both parties, they look with confidence, but their mutual rancour towards each other may be collected from the style of the memorials and much more from the nature and extent of their respective demands. In this state of mutual irritation, the decision of a religious contest by the religion of one of the parties is something more than a matter of form. It cannot but appear a total departure from the principles of impartial justice. Government can certainly admit of no compromise with its dignity, nor concede the slightest point to either party, but equal justice is due to both and they appear entitled to claim the adoption of such measures as may be necessary for securing a fair trial. The power which Government has reserved to itself of finally remitting or mitigating the punishment in each particular case will ameliorate the rigour of the Mahommedan law as it affects the Hindus, but its operation will be confined to that sect alone. It does not anticipate nor provide for the release of the Musalman aggressors whose crimes in the eye of the law are their greatest merit, men whom the expounder of the law cannot in his conscience convict, and whom it is impossible, consistently with justice, to punish in the teeth of a verdict of acquittal. To administer equal justice the punishment of the Hindus must be remitted because the Musalmans cannot be convicted, and thus both classes of criminals escape,

and no atonement is made by either for the common outrage against public authority."

Government eventually dispensed with the fatwa and the trials were conducted by a special court.

A more delicate problem was the arrangement of measures to prevent similar collisions in the future, for the two religions were so closely blended both at the Bisheshwar and the Kapalmochan that any separation of the two without the total exclusion of one or other was impossible. Mr. Watson (the magistrate) suggested the following compromise.* With regard to the Bisheshwar site, that the Musalmans should be restricted to the mosque and terrace appertaining to it, and the Hindus be maintained in the exclusive access to the sacred walk round the mosque and the Gyanbafi well. With regard to the Kapalmochan he advised the exclusion of the Musalmans as both more easy and more consonant to justice than the exclusion of the Hindus. He wrote "The reputed sanctity of the spot in the eyes of the Hindus would not be lost by its exclusive appropriation to Musalman devotion, while the everlasting rancour of the Hindus would be kept alive by a sense of the profanation to which their holy place was exposed, and a regret at being denied access to it. With the Musalmans, on the contrary, no particular sanctity attached to the spot. An Eedgah in any other situation would be equally an object of resort, and it is only held by the Musalmans in peculiar estimation here as it marks the former ascendancy of of one religion over the other. When all collision of the two sects is obviated at the Bisheshwar mosque and Kapalmochan by the seclusion of the Musalmans at the one and their exclusion from the other, I anticipate no ground of dispute from the Musalmans retaining entire possession of the minaret mosque called by the Hindus Beynee Madhoo and of that at Sheikh Katun Allees (or the Hindu Kurrut Baseysur). The Hindus have long since appropriated another temple to the idol to which the former place was originally dedicated, and the fountain at the latter which the Hindus esteem sacred is an object of devotion to them only one day in the year.†

* In this as in other counsel which he gave, Mr. Watson was shown by Mr. Bird's subsequent reasoning to take a somewhat inadequate view of the state of affairs—P. R.

† Government had also enquired whether any particular spots had ever been set apart for the slaughter of kine, and Mr. Watson replied—

"particular spots in the suburbs of the city were originally fixed upon by Mr. Duncan for the slaughter of cattle as mentioned in section 88. Regulation, XXII. 1795. The restriction has in a lapse of years been gradually relaxed and cattle are sometimes slaughtered, particularly for religious sacrifices, within the city.

This extraordinary advice Mr. Bird wisely opposed. Both Hindus and Musalmans had, he said, suffered so severely that neither would again molest the other, and he deprecated the perpetuation of the memories of the recent collision. This sagacity has been vindicated by 60 years of peace between the sects. Government adopted his counsels and no alteration whatever was made in the original position of the parties. Permission was given to both alike to repair damages, and according to their respective religious customs each purified their violated altars. The Hindus held high ceremonies, and with prayers and Ganges' water the fragments of the Lât were restored to their original sanctity and reverently buried. The stump was set up on its present site, and the veneration paid to the original pillar transferred to the mutilated relict.

Meanwhile both Mahommedans and Hindus had drawn up their memorials,—remarkable documents which I consider well worthy of publication *in extenso*.

The following is the Memorial of the Hindus. It was drawn up at the house of Bissumber Pandit, † and presented by Rattan Singh, Rajput, on November 20th 1809.

"We, all the Brahmins, Cuttries and persons of Byse and Sooder castes, beg to lay before the English a representation of the past, present and future, in order that it may be received with mature circumspection and our existence as a people preserved. It is this—

We, every sect of the Hindu persuasion, have emigrated from all parts of the country to this place, for our religion tells us that Casheejee (Benares) is a spot eminent beyond all others for its religious purity and a place of worship and adoration. It is here that

The places selected by Mr. Duncan for the purpose on the four sides of the city, Cholera Tallaub, Lullapara, the old fort and Rewree Tallaub; and it is certainly advisable that the restriction should now be rigidly enforced. An infringement of the Regulation respecting shambles or any other of the rules laid down in Regulation XXII. of 1795, for which no specific penalty is declared, I should of course consider as a misdemeanor punishable by fine and imprisonment at discretion under the general powers vested in the Magistrate. But it would clearly be preferable that an express provision should be made to constitute into a

misdemeanor punishable by the Magistrate the slaughter of cattle for beef in any other than the prescribed places, at least openly and with the intention of offering a wanton violence to the feelings of the Hindus. If indeed a breach of every other rule without a penalty prescribed in Regulation XXII. 1795, was expressly declared punishable as a misdemeanor it would be attended with advantage. A restriction unsupported by an adequate penalty on the infringement of it is not easily enforced.'

† B. P. died suddenly in January before the trials came on.

according to the Beyds, Poorans and Shastras, the gods have always fixed their residence, and the Hindu inhabitants of the place have invariably performed with sincere hearts their devotional ablution and worship to the four Deymuto (Divinities), viz., Sereé Bissey-sur jeo,¹ The Ganges, Unpoorna jeo³, and Kaul Bhy-roo,⁴ Koolust hum jeo. According to the tenets of the Beyds, Poorans, and Shasters, we Hindus have thus acted from the creation and are still fixed in our true faith.

After the destruction of the power of the Hindu Rajahs a Mahomedan Government ruled for many centuries, and this place was subject to the Royal Authority at Delhi. None of the Musalman Emperors interfered with our places of worship till the reign of Aurungzebe Alumgeer, whose rigid zeal leading him for the sake of his religion to injure in no slight degree the Hindu places of worship ; he began to introduce his own system by engrafting it on the temples of the Hindus.

When he came to Benares, considering (as it would seem) the places of our Deymuto as pure and august, he erected a mosque on the site of the Temple of Bissey-sur. As kings in their divine wisdom are mindful of religion, he knew that the supplications of those who err are acceptable only from places like these, and he laid the foundation of his mosques on the ruins of many of the Hindu temples. As he was a powerful and mighty monarch we from necessity submitted with patience.

“The anger of a mendicant retorts upon himself.”

The Musalmans have now violated our religion. The story is this—

On Monday, the 16th of Coar, corresponding with the 28th Shaban 1217 fussily (9th of October 1809), many of the Hindus of Benares went to make their offerings at Cuppeeladhara^a to the manes of their deceased relatives, a duty incumbent on those whom the departed have left behind. On that day the Musalmans slaughtered a cow in Mehullah Naugnauth^b. It so happened that a Luheyra (a worker in Lac) was on the spot ; seeing this outrage he mentioned it to the Ruttun Singh Choudry, who told it to his father. Ruttun Singh perceived that in concealing it the Hindu religion must be suppressed. Ten or twelve creditable persons went to the Kotwal of the city. They did not meet with the Kotwal of the city, and told the story of the slaughter of the cow to the Kotwal's

¹ and ³ contiguous to each other near the centre of the city.

⁴ The Lát of Bhyroo in the suburbs, which has been destroyed.

(a)—*Cuppeeladhara*.—Situated in Pergunnah Cutteyr on the other side of the Buwa Nullah, about three

coss from the city.

(b)—*Naugnauth*. Under the jurisdiction of the subordinate Police Chubootra of Cazeé Mundeé within the city. This *Mohallah* is chiefly inhabited by Musalman pulahars.

Mootsuddee who wrote to the Thanawallah, and the person who slaughtered the cow was apprehended. The Kotwal released him, expressed displeasure at the persons who made the complaint and paid it no attention. We determined amongst ourselves that, as the court was then closed, a petition should be presented to the Huzoor after the Bijjaee Dussmee and Burrup Millaup, which happened on Thursday, 26th of Cooar, corresponding with 9th Rumzaun 1217 (19th October 1809) were passed. On the day following, namely, Friday, the 27th (20th October), the suffeed bafs (weavers), at the instigation of the principal Musalmans, assembling in a body went to the Lât of Bhyroonauth jee made a disturbance, beat the *Jogees* of the Lât, rooted out a *chowra* (stand) which contained a *Toolsee* tree as also the idol of Hunooman, &c., defiled the whole of the place and committed outrages, which it is highly indecorous consistent with our religion to mention. After these improprieties had been committed they returned to their homes. In the evening several Hindus went according to their usual custom to pay their devotions at the place and saw that the whole was filth, that the idols were broken and the place of worship entirely spoilt. They asked the *Jogees* who were there, who had spoilt the place? The *Jogees* related circumstantially what had passed. The Hindu overwhelmed with grief, distracted with astonishment, and pained to the quick, returned back. On reaching home they deliberated thus among themselves. "We were seeking justice for the slaughter of a cow: this other flower has blown."

It was then night, and they rose and exclaimed "Doochaye" in every *Mohullah*. They poured forth their complaint and vociferated. "Oh! Hindus, in this way have the Musalmans been beforehand in oppression, but every Hindu who is true to his faith unite in the morning surround the Lât of Bhyroojee and see the violence which the Musalmans have done." On the morning of Saturday, the 28th Cooar (21st of October), the Hindus accordingly began to assemble and met to the number of two or three hundred with grief and lamentation. On receiving intelligence of this the Kotwal came on horseback to the spot with 200 *Chuprassies* and Sawars and required the Hindus to disperse. Fearful of their honour many of them took their way to the city, and the Kotwal took his seat on the Chubbootra at the Lât and sent word for a few of the Hindus to come to him, and that he would hear what they had to represent. They obeyed the order of the Hakim, and Ruttun Singh Choudry and others, altogether four persons, went to the Kotwal, who without making any enquiries took them with him to the *Thanah* at Cazeer Mundree and beat them. As thousands of Musalmans were assembled in the Imambarra, and the Hindus, with exception of Ruttun Singh, &c., to the

number of two hundred remained, they began to pelt each other. In this mutual attack part of the Jauli of the Imambarra was broken and our Deymuto (Divinities) received some injury. The Kotwal on hearing this immediately came to the spot, gave notice by proclamation that not a man of the Hindus should remain, turned out the *chuprassies*, posted a guard of Musalman peons, and gave it to be understood that the Musalmans were going to the temple of Bisseysur jee and would commit violence there. On hearing this, the Hindus reflecting, that from the former neglect, the images of their Deymuto had been broken and rooted out, in order that a similar outrage might not be committed at the Bisseysur, and injury heaped upon injury, all at once ran off and reached the Bisseysur. The Musalmans finding the place clear were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity it afforded. At this period Zeynoo, a *mochee* (shoemaker and saddler) who keeps a shop in the Bhyroonauth bazaar, Seikh Hussein of Tilliah nullah, an attendant on the prince, Shureef Moghul, in the service of His Royal Highness, and Cazeo Dunna joined the mob which was headed by Dost Mahomed, Hingun Chijoo, Cootub, Fauzil Bullee, Dhunsee, Noor Mahomed, Khan Mahomed, Pecareo, Hussein, Domun, Ohelhaubodeen (13 persons) and other Mehtoos of Aodhopoora, and with the support and advice of the principal persons of their persuasion, they commenced a disturbance. They accordingly collected large quantities of food, oil and dammer, and having rubbed the Lát from the top to the bottom with spirits and gun-powder, set fire to the whole, and *bhishtees* who came from different quarters sprinkled the pillar with water. It has been ascertained that the Lát notwithstanding all these attempts, did not fall till they sprinkled it with the blood of a cow and her young, which they got from a *baugh* and dragged, tied by the neck, to the spot. On this outrage the *chucker* on the Bhyroo Lát jee spun round and tumbled and the Lát burst and fell to the ground. They cast the cow which they had slaughtered into the tank of Kapilmochun which is near the Lát and completely defiled it. Such was the persecution imposed by a set of noorbeafs (Weavers) of mean extraction at the instigation of the Musalmans of rank and a tyranny unknown to Aurungebe Alumgeer himself was practised by this vulgar race.

We, the Hindus, being informed of what had happened went all night from house to house vociferating, exclaiming, and beating our breasts till it was day. It was (a morning which for us was like to the last day) on Sunday, the 29th of Cooar, 22nd October, that the flame of dissension had become general, and the principal persons amongst the Hindus as Brahmins, bankers, and others felt alarm as to what might be the pleasure of God and what was to happen. When this was known to the English,

Mr. Bird immediately came with other gentlemen, and day and night labouring to restore order and safety to the city and to pacify the Hindus, went about from ward to ward and from temple to temple.

The Brahmins, Pundits and 10 sects of Gosains; the Rajpoots Gungapootras and Ghauties, 36 castes of Hindus, had seated themselves on the bank of the Ganges, and with a two days' fast supplicated the Creator of the world for redress. Thousands of them had abstained from food altogether, when Mr. Bird, being informed of the penance they had imposed on themselves, went in clemency and compassion to console them, and with assurances of redress and justice desired them to break their fast and eat; all obeying the order rose and ate their food. The doors of the Bissey-sur, Unpoorna, Caulbhyroo and all the shops in the bazaar were shut; after satisfying the people man by man he had them opened, got all to take food, and told them to present a statement of their grievances to him in writing.

He regretted that there was so much to lament and deprecate, and observed that such things had perhaps never before occurred, but desired us to rest satisfied that justice would be done us and attention paid to our wishes. We conformed to his direction and agreed to submit a statement in writing, which we now present accordingly with the following views.

From the personal bigotry of Aurungzebe Alumgeer, mosques were erected on the site of our place of worship; the four principal are * Bissey-sur and Gyanbaffi † Kirrit Baseysur; ‡ Bindho or Beynee Madho; § Caul Bhyro Koolusthum. That emperor in his zeal introduced his religion in common with ours at these places.

It is prayed that these may be restored to us for the purposes of our worship; and we Hindus, by the favor of the English, confirmed as heretofore in the exercise of our religion, that we may

* The old temple at Bissey-sur on the ruins of which the present mosque was erected in the reign of Aurungzebe Alumgeer. Part of this temple was left which projects from the back of the mosque. The present temple of Bissey-sur is contiguous to the mosque and separated from it only by a compound wall.

† A small mosque built in the reign of Mahomed Shah is situated here. There is a fountain in the centre of the same architecture as the mosque. On the anniversary of the Shiva Rattree (13th of Pha-

goon) the whole body of Hindus visit this fountain for the purpose of pooja in common with the other sacred places.

§ The mosque with the famous minarets is erected here. The present temple of the idol is at a short distance to the eastward of the mosque.

4. The Lát which has been destroyed. The ground about which was taken for the Eedgah and other religious purposes by the Musalmans under the Mahomedan Government.

pray for the eternal prosperity of the English and the mutual differences which night and day subsist in regard to those places, be adjusted.

That the Musalmans be not allowed to come to the places of worship, or to kill cows, or for recreation and pleasure to pass along the roads frequented by the Hindus in order that by this method a line may be distinctly drawn between us. You are yourself the distributor of justice and are acquainted with the Bheyds Poorauns and Shaster. Let such measures be adopted as may fix and confirm the Hindu religion, establish a certain rule in future and adjust all differences.

The English Company, may its prosperity be perpetual, as the sovereign of Hindoostan, give ear to the complaint of us who are poor and helpless. If the Musalmans enjoy strength and power for war and combat, let them look to the Caaba and Curbulla the true places of their worship. It is but lately, as all the world knows, that a sect of their own, the Mohaubies attacked the Caaba, made a general massacre in their holy city, rooted up the tombs and monuments of their prophets and their imams, and plundering property by crores, carried it off as spoil. Allee Nukee Khan, the vakeel of the late Ibrahim Allee Khan, resided there with his family and with his women and children was put to death. Let them go there and wage war with the destroyer of their race, let them seek retribution for the blood of their own tribe, and in support of their faith kill the enemies and murderers of their brethren and be killed themselves. The fame of their attachment to their faith will be thus spread throughout the world, and they may restore their dilapidated tombs and Imambarrahs. By their constant dissensions with us poor creatures they vainly injure their own hopes in the next world, and only harass us. You are the ruling power, put a stop to this violence. By the favour of Bisseysur jee, you are the supporter of the poor and subduer of the oppressive; punish the oppressors for this outrage to prevent similar oppression hereafter, and leave them not with the power of persecuting. The violence sustained at the hands of these short-sighted Musalmans was not once practised under the administration of the Mahomedan Emperor. It has occurred under the Government of the English Company renowned for its active goodness. It is known that in other parts of Hindostan no security is afforded; the people of Gujrat, the Dekhan and elsewhere, sensible of the security afforded here and of the British regard for justice flock to this place by hundreds of thousands, and with the utmost confidence bring with them their families and property and find rest. Even now that we suffer injury and hardship from the outrage which has been committed, we implore Providence to preserve the British

name and character and put the enemies of the Government to disgrace and shame*".

The following is the "humble Memorial of the whole body of Musalmans to His Lordship." It was presented on November 27th, 1809.

The country of Hindoostan has for many centuries been the seat of the true faith. The city of Benares, a small spot thereof, was held sacred by the Hindus. As they were all resigned to the faith, and true to their sovereign, they met with tolerance and continued to exercise the needful rites pertaining to their religion. From the time of the late Nawab, Sufter Jung, when the province was granted to the Hindu chieftains, they also submitted to Mahommedanism. Since the accession of the English Government both parties have enjoyed the free exercise of their respective religious opinions, and the administration of justice, especially in criminal matters, has been regulated by the holy (Mahommedan) law.

The rebellious, murderous and riotous conduct of Rajpoots of the Mohullahs of Daranuggur, Peerce and Hurha at the period of the expulsion of Cheit Singh, and in the time of Mr. Thomas Graham, in conjunction with an inspector who personated the Bhao, and in the time of Mr. Markham when they got the Noorbaafs (weavers) to join their party, is universally known. It was the same in Vazier Allee's riot, when the Rajpoots of these Mohullahs raised in the course of a *puhir* (3 hours English) several thousand men for his support, and the city was preserved only from massacre and plunder by the timely arrival of the Government troops. It was these Rajpoots also who filled the city with *baunkas* and intestine broils.

The practice of killing cattle for beef has been habitual from the first dawn of Mahommedanism in the city. It was not hindered or prohibited, though the province of Benares was held and governed by Hindu chiefs. Even at Madho Dass' garden, which is within the circle of the Unturgurhee, as long as the English resided there it was constantly done, and nobody thought of forbidding it.

For three years the Dusseyrah and Mohurruin occurred at the same period with each other; Mr. Duncan restrained the Hindus from celebrating the festival of the Dusseyrah till the

* The above memorial was drawn out in "Sanskrit, Bhaka and Persian" and was signed by 5,675 persons, 362 of whom were persons of note. "Banking houses of Brahmans, Chuttries, Byse and Soodra castes, 39;" *Bazauzes* (sellers of cloth) and Koojruttee, Mahaujaus of Lahore and Mooltan,

30;" *Brahmans*, Mahrattas, 19; Nau-gurs, 39; Gungapootias 22; Chowbeys and Tiwares, 11; Saursoots, 19; Bangalies, 19; *Chuttries*, 32; Gosains, 132. Neither the Benares Rajah nor any of his relatives signed the memorial.

Mohurram was over, by which arrangement peace and quiet were preserved. Whilst that gentleman was in power, there was a Mahratta who wished to appropriate a part of the compound of the mosque of Bebee Ranjey: the Musalmans met and remonstrated. An affray ensued in which an idol was destroyed; the Rajpoots assembled to breed a riot, and it ended in Mr. Duncan preventing the Mahratta from erecting the building he proposed, and Mr. Lumsden, to render the public authority complete, punished those who appeared to have been instrumental to the disturbance. For three years the Hooly and Mohurram happened together. By the arrangement made by Mr. Stuart for preventing dancing and the other festivities common on the former occasion the Hindus were restrained during the Mohurram, and tranquillity was preserved.

The injury which the faithful have now suffered at the hands of the Gosains, Rajpoots and other Hindus, who, in violation of established rules and in direct subversion of public order and authority, have sacked the houses of several hundred innocent persons and massacred many, is fully known to the presence. For the purpose, however, of obtaining justice, we beg to submit a distinct narration of what the Musalmans have suffered.

In the suburbs to the eastward of the city of Benares, within the compound of an Eedgah, stood a pillar (Laut) of considerable antiquity which the Musalmans suppose to have been the structure of Feroze Shah, like the pillar (Laut) at Allahabad, Dehli and other places, and which the Hindoos state to have been erected by their own forefathers. But, be that as it may, it was not as an object of their worship entitled to any great veneration like the temples of Bisseysur and Bhyronauth; for no account of this pillar is to be found in any of their orthodox books. The style of worship of the Hindus is this, wherever they find set up (a pillar) they call it, at the incitement of their priests, a place of their worship, and after sometime has elapsed they consider it as a place of worship of the highest sanctity. The best is that about two and twenty years ago some Hindoos corrupted Meer Khyraut Allee, the Mutwali (superintendent), of the Jumma Musjid of Alumgeer, commonly called the Bisseysur mosque, and pretending that Bisseysur had concealed himself in the well, they began to worship the well,* and shared the offerings with the Mutwali. In the same way they worship with the utmost faith a stone fountain† in the compound of the mosque at the

* Called Geeanbafee or Gyaunuafee in the Hindu memorial.

† It is this mosque and fountain which the Hindoos in their memorial

state to have been erected on the site of Kirrit Bisseysur. The mosque appears from the inscriptions on it to have been built by orders of the

house of Sheik Hautim Allee in Mohullah Daranugur. So also was the Laut of Feroze Shah converted by them into the Laut of Bhyroo and the lower order of Hindus worshipped it.

A Laut was erected by Mr. Boddum at Gya it is just now only a thing for the pilgrims to revere and the priests to make money of; but when all the persons who are acquainted with the fact are dead it will be honored with the name of Mahdeo or Brahma. It is just so at Benares. The mosques which are built by Aurungzebe are called by the Hindus one, the mosque of Bisseysur and another the mosque † Madho Roy. For some years the lower classes of Hindoos and Mussulmans have annually celebrated the marriage of the Laut, and have divided the offerings between them. Near the Laut of the Eedgah there is a *peepul* tree, and under this tree the Hindus put some idols and made it a place of their idolatry.

When the Musalmans gathered together for the purposes of prayer at the Eed, &c., the Brahmins on the spot remove the idols. If there happened to be any which could not be conveniently taken away they were carefully concealed with grass. The faithful on the day of the Eed used to perform the sacrifice there and never met with any interruption from the Hindoos. It is not long ago that under a tree, the Brahmins spoken of put a tiled *chopper* to shade an idol and called it a place of worship. The Musalmans objected to it at the time, and brought their complaint before the Adaulut; but it so happened that it was never determined, and the tiled *chopper* was not destroyed. The Hindoos, considering this as a victory, proceeded to greater enormities, and they last year, on one of the days of the Dusseyrah, put a Ram Luchmun into the mimber (pulpit) of the Eedgah; went through ceremonies of that, fasted, trampled the place in their shoes, and spit about it. This year they were for three days guilty of the same disrespect; but the Musalmans reverence the Government, said nothing, and allowed it to lay over for a formal complaint to the court. In every sense the Hindoos are the original aggressors. Besides all this, a Naugur lately collected a number of bricks and stones for the purpose of making a stone temple within the compound of the Eedgah. The Musalmans objected, but the Hindoos paid no attention to their remonstrances, and the materials collected by the Naugur are still on the spot. The Noorbeafs (Musalman weavers) who came as usual to Friday prayer at the Eedgah after

Emperor Mahomed Shah at the solicitation of Moofiti Nooroollah in the year 1077 Hijree, on the ruins of a *Bhootkhana* (temple of idolatry), the last Sheikh Hautim Allee was a lineal descendant of Moofiti Nooroollah; the

entrance to his house is through the door of the compound of the mosque.

‡ The mosque with the famous minarets named Bindho Madhoo in the Hindu memorial.

prayers, were over, consulted about the complaint that was to be made respecting the erection of the temple.

The Hindoos say that some of them committed indignities such as removing the *toolsee* tree, &c. If this be true, the crime was certainly not of a very heinous nature; and had the Hindoos complained of it to the regular authority the offenders would have been punished. It is for the punishment of offenders, and that people may not take vengeance on each other, that courts are established. Several Hindoos, in opposition to this established rule of Government, assembled at night, proceeded to the Eedgah, and broke the door of the Mimber. Though this itself was a flagrant outrage they did not stop here. In the morning they assembled in a riotous manner at the Laut assaulted and stoned a Syud traveller who was reading the Koran till they had nearly deprived him of life, and tearing the holy Koran to pieces scattered it about the road, when the *Kotwal* arrived and by mild exhortation succeeded in dispersing them. Notwithstanding the prohibition of the *Kotwal* the Hindoos again assembled at the Laut, insulted people as they passed along, proceeded to the Imambarrah in the vicinity of the Laut, and tore the pall (*ghilauf*) to pieces, broke and destroyed the frill work (*jauly*) of the doorways, and stone *chubootrahs*, the lanterns, the consecrated Kuddum Shurreef* and Punjah Shurreef† and a great many tombs. A party of them afterwards proceeded with mischievous intent, towards the Durgah of the Punjah Shurreef, which is to the westward of the city.‡ On the occurrence of this event a rabble assembled, moved towards the temple of Bisseygur, which is situated in the city. They were attacked near Gayaghat by the Hindoos, and one man was killed and several wounded. These low people (who are not of a description to bear arms) finding that they had not the power to proceed further into the city retreated, and, rallying at the Laut of the Eedgah, in return for the indignities committed at the Imambarrah, &c, destroyed the Laut. When this was known the acting magistrate again came in person with a party of officers and Hindoo troops, took measures for the general safety, posted guards in different places, and gave assurances of justice to both parties. The Noorbahs (weavers) who were assembled at the Imambarrah for its protection, did as they were directed, and returned to their homes. The court was still open to complaint but not a man of the Hindoos chose to avail himself of it and they prepared for riot. The Rajpoots of the Mohullahs of Peeree, Hurha, Darranuggur, Cazce Mundee, Bhardawajee Tola, Publam

* An impression of the Prophet's Allee on a stone.
 foot on a marble slab. † At the Fatimaun.
 ‡ An impression of the hand of

Ghat, &c., and the Gosains and other disorderly persons among the Hindoos in every Mohallahs, urged on by Sustee, Budloo Ramdeal, Lalchund and other officers of police, during the whole night incited the people in every street and lane to insurrection and made them swear by their religion that it was grievous, and that every man would leave his home and take "vengeance on the Musalmans." Influenced by this incitement and oath, they poured forth in troops and gangs and filled the city with desolation and plunder; every man whom they met was murdered.

The Imambarrah was re-attacked by a band who sacked and pillaged it of sacred relics which cannot be regained. Its buildings were pulled down and burnt with the property they contained.

The blood of a hog was sprinkled in the Imambarrah and they massacred some travellers. They burnt the private dwellings of the Noorbaafs and despoiled them of their property. They exposed women; some women and children they put to death, and cut others down with swords. Many innocent men who took no part whatever in the disturbance were killed and wounded by the Hindoos and pillaged of their property.

The like atrocities were committed by the Hindoos at the Royal Jumma Musjid in Mohallah Bisseysur, by fire and sword. The mosque was ravaged, the minarets were thrown down; property was plundered and burnt; the buildings round the mosque were reduced to ashes; the artisans who inhabited them were deprived of life, and the child of the Mutwali (superintendent) of the mosque was wounded, though his life was saved by a Brahmin who was rewarded for the act.

They pulled down and destroyed upwards of 60 Musjids and broke up hundreds of tombs; every man whom they met with a beard they took for a Musalman and killed. The Gosains sacked hundreds of private dwellings; when they had taken up the property they set fire to the buildings, and every one found in them they slew. They ran about in armed bodies for the purpose of murder and plunder, and a large party of them went to pull down the Punjab Shurreef and the Prince's Muzzar to the westward of the city. At this juncture the acting magistrate arrived with troops; they fired and a Rajpoot of Peeree who headed the mob was killed. The rioters went off with the body, and wherever they happened to find the house of a butcher, tailor, bhistee or other Musalman tradesman they plundered and set fire to it. The acting magistrate and military officers engaged in suppressing the disturbance were purposely misled by the Hindu *chuprassies* and informers, and some of them gave intelligence to the rioters, who by that means were enabled to take a different route. The principal

Musalmans, from respect to the Government, kept their doors closed and remained quiet; though matters got to that length that the rioters spread a report that the Prince had poisoned himself, and the Hindus reversing the real state of things informed the English that the Musalmans had committed violence. Every poor and helpless person whom they met in the streets they killed or wounded. A *faqir*, who was quite blind, had his nose cut off. Like robbers they stript the jewels from the persons of the women. From their acts it seems clear that the Hindus, under a pretended regard for their religion, were in reality resolved, from worldly avarice, to murder and rob the Musalmans. They reduced many hundreds of houses to ashes and gained for themselves many lakhs of rupees. If in support of their religion they sought vengeance the destruction of the Imambarrah, which they had already accomplished, was complete; if their object was the effusion of blood, they would have directed their havoc and slaughter against those who had destroyed the Laut and not have plundered and robbed the whole body of Musalmans in the city who had no connection whatever in the licentiousness of the persons who aimed at its destruction. They murdered the innocent, though the Noorbaafs and other Musalmans, after witnessing the injury done to the Imambarrah, with the exception to the destruction of the Laut (which was in fact not an object of Hindu worship, and at all events be it what it might it was common to both parties) did not extend the hand of rapine to their impure property. The murderous excesses therefore which were committed by the Hindus can be attributed only to a lust for robbery and plunder: some of the Hindus also took that opportunity of gratifying their private resentment and killed and wounded each other.

Dissension has ever subsisted between the Hindus and Musalmans; public order is maintained by the wisdom of the rulers.

Let it be first seen to which of the two parties the aggression is attributable, which of the two have been always obedient and faithful to the Government, and which rebellious. 2nd.—Let it be ascertained which party kept up the disturbance and stood out against Government, in the attempt to suppress it. 3rd.—By what party all the atrocious acts of violence were committed. 4th.—What number of persons on the part of the Musalmans and what number of the Hindus were killed and wounded, and in what mode and under what circumstances.

5th. How many houses were burnt, to what party they belonged, and what property was plundered. 6th. How many Musjids were injured, and what number of Hindoo temples destroyed.

7th. How many tombs were broken up and in what Mohul-

lahs. 8th. which of the parties constantly go armed and are habitual breakers of the peace. 9th. On which side men of rank and consequence afforded their aid and support. 10th. which party was aided, and on what side were the minds of the people inflamed by the public officers of Government.

11th. When the lower order of Musalmans put fire to the Laut, there were Hindoos also; how it happened that they did not extinguish the fire and preserve the Laut from destruction, for it is inconceivable that persons who were strong enough to rebel against the authority of Government, to put to death hundreds of innocent persons, to destroy the Imambarrah and hundreds of tombs and royal Musjids, to burn, plunder and pillage private dwellings, and to oppose the Government troops, should be too weak to preserve a principal place of worship from the ravages of hundred or couple of hundred unarmed men? 12th. Let it be observed that this dispute arose without the city, between the Hindoos and Noorbaafs of Audhopore, the latter of whom were accused of breaking up a *toolsee* tree, &c. But the Hindoos massacred and plundered the Musalmans of the whole city, many of whom kept their homes and some of them were travellers who had no participation in the matter, and had not even heard of it. There is no crime in the eye of the law so great as massacre and arson. We, who are the sufferers, have no refuge except under the shadow of justice and our wrongs have not yet been redressed.

It is therefore prayed that the memorial of us sufferers, who from the period of the Company's accession have been obedient, and loyal subjects be laid before the Government, ever ready to redress our wrongs, and there is no doubt that on a review of the facts above recited, the persons who destroyed the Laut will be punished and the Rajpoots, Gosains, Naugurs Jaantees, and other Hindoo sects and others who indiscriminately robbed and massacred the whole body of Musalmans, destroyed Musjids and tombs, and offered a violation to our religion which it never before suffered, will be rendered liable to punishment and *Kissas*, and that exemplary notice will be taken of the dishonor cast upon the Musalmans who had no concern whatever in the dispute. It is prayed that the ancient Musjids and the tombs, and the sacred places which have been broken down and burnt, be rebuilt and repaired from the property of the oppressors and plunderers, their aiders and abettors; and that restitution for the loss of sacred relics, and the pillage of private property in the city, which is consonant to justice and the established rules of Government, be awarded to us; for the known equity of the British Government which we have ever experienced affords the fullest confidence that on the occurrence of events so replete with

iniquity, more than ordinary solicitude, in promoting the ends of justice and punishing the guilty will mark the deliberative wisdom of Government, that the spots within the precincts of Musjids which the Hindoos, contrary to fact pretend to call their places of worship, such as the well * of the mosque of Alumgeer, the house † of Sheikh Hatim Allee, with compound of the Eed-gah, with the Laut ‡ of Feroz Shah ; and, which from the avarice of the ignorant Mutwalee of the faithful they have for some time frequented for the purpose of *Pooja*, be prohibited to them, in order that a stop may be put to the dissensions which must constantly arise from participation of the Hindoos.

16th "Showaul 1224 Hijree", corresponding with 25th November 1809."

The above memorial was presented by Mir Torab Ali and signed by 724 persons, 105 of whom were accounted individuals of note.

* Called in the Hindoo memorial
Giaubaafce.

† Ditto. Kirrit Bussevsur.

‡ Ditto. Caul Bhyro Koolusthum.

PHIL. ROBINSON.

ART. V.—THE VALLEY OF THE INN.

I.—THE ENGADIN.

AMONG the sanatoria of Europe few have had a more rapid growth or have attained greater popularity than the Upper Engadin. When one recalls the throng of visitors who annually crowd its hotels one would hesitate to offer a description of a place apparently so widely known if one were not sure that there are many to whom the names of even its head-quarters, St. Moritz and Pontresina are unfamiliar. It is beyond question, one of the most invigorating of European sanatoria and as its dry and bracing air is specially beneficial to those who have felt the ill-effects of a damp and relaxing climate, some account of it may not be unwelcome in a Calcutta periodical.

The name "Engadin" is applied to the Swiss or upper portion of the valley of the Inn, which lies within the canton Graubünden (Grisons) and has a length of about 65 miles (18-19 stunde). Its height above the sea varies from 5,940 feet at the Maloja to 3,342 feet at Martinsbrück. It is shut in by formidable mountains, but these have been pierced by no less than seven excellent post roads. Three of these start from Chur and are the most convenient for travellers from England as Chur can be reached from London, *via* Ostend and Basel, in 36 hours.

Chur, the *Curia Rhetorum* of the Romans, well repays the traveller who halts in it for a few days. It is a quaint old town hanging on the hill sides at the mouth of the Plessur and overlooking the broad valley of the Rhine. It is a Protestant town but the upper part, the Acropolis, as we may call it, is Catholic. This is surrounded by a wall, within which stand the Cathedral and the Bishop's Palace. This cathedral has a special interest for Englishmen from its association with the British King Lucius, after whom it is named and who was murdered near Chur by the heathen of his day and afterwards canonized. His sister Emerita shared the same fate and received the same honours. The church dates from the eighth century and contains many objects of interest. It is moreover in charge of an enthusiastic sacristan, an excellent guide, who regards his work as custodian of so many treasures as a "holy duty." In the sacristy are, amongst other documents, charters bearing the signatures of Charlemagne and his sons, and some fragments of silk of the time of Justinian. The choir is of singular construction, resting upon arches, which spring from a single central column. In it is a finely carved wood high altar, on which amongst others are statues of English,

Scotch, and Irish missionary saints. Angelica Kauffmann was born at Chur and there is here a picture from her hand painted when a mere girl. There are other pictures by Cranach, Holbein, and Durer. In the south aisle is a fine porphyry tomb, executed under the personal direction of its occupant Bishop Ortlieb von Brandis (1494). Recumbent upon it is his stately figure in stole and mitre. His face, which recalls that of our Elizabeth, is remarkably handsome, the keen-cut features bear no impress of pietism or of sensuality; they are those of an aristocratic Pagan. One could imagine that with somewhat less of license in his words he gave instructions as fastidious as those with which his Right Reverend Brother ordered his tomb in St. Praxéd. In the same aisle are several Moorish arches, which are possibly not so unaccountable as the good Sacristan thinks if a recent writer on the Engadin is correct (Dr. F. M. Ludwig), who supposes that Pontresina is a corruption of Pons Saracenus and that this points to a Moorish occupation. These are a few of the curiosities of the Church of St. Lucius; those who are inclined for a pilgrimage to his chapel should ascend the wooded hillside on the right bank of the Plessur where, if by nothing else, they will be rewarded by a fine view.

The three roads which lead from Chur into the Engadin are the Julier, the Albula and the Flüela. On them diligences ply daily and private carriages are also always to be hired in which the journey can be made leisurely and with more comfort. The Julier and the Albula are identical as far as Lenz. Here the Albula diverges to the left and passing through the wonderful defile of the Bergiü Stein enters the Engadin at Ponté. The Julier route descends to Tiefenkasten, well-named the Deep Castle, where the ascent towards the Julier Pass commences. This road dates from very ancient times; on the summit of its pass there are two pillars of grey granite, which are commonly believed to be milestones of Roman origin, though another tradition says that they are the remains of an altar to the Keltic god Jûl. The Julier is undoubtedly the finest approach to the Engadin on account of the magnificent view of the valley obtained from it. By it and by the Albula, St. Moritz may be reached in some twelve hours. Instead of taking the direct road from Chur to Tiefenkasten many travellers prefer to make a détour to Thusis and the *Via Mala*, and from Thusis to cross the imposing Schyn Pass and rejoin the Julier or Albula at Tiefenkasten.

The Flüela route is the shortest between Chur and the Engadin; it passes through Davos, a sanatorium in high repute for consumptive patients, to Säis.

On the opposite side of the valley two roads lead from the south, the Bernina which affords magnificent snow views and

runs from Tirano in the Valteline to Pontresina and Samaden, and the Ofener Pass road which traverses a district of the wildest scenery from Méran, by the Münster Thal to Zernetz. A sixth road leads from Chiavenna through Bergell to the extraordinary Maloja Pass and enters the Engadin at its head. It joins the post road which runs through the length of the valley to Martinsbrück where it meets the military road from the Finstermüz Pass and Tirol, the seventh place of ingress to the Engadin.

The Engadin is divided into Upper and Lower, each having its local Government and each its distinctive natural features. The Upper Engadin is flat, with an average width of a mile and a half. In it, between the Maloja and St. Moritz, lies a chain of lakes of peculiar beauty of color. Their deep clear waters have the mingling greens and blues of peacock plumage, and redeem by their wonderful tints a landscape otherwise too stern to charm. The surrounding mountains are extremely desolate; with the exception of Piz Margua, they are too steep to allow the snow to rest on their seamed and barren sides. Fir forests gird their feet and struggle in narrowing columns, warped by the bitter winds, towards their summits; maimed and stunted they testify to the severity of winters which are popularly estimated as of nine months duration. In these forests is a large number of the rare arva (*pinus cembra*), the red-wooded arctic pine, with grey-green foliage and large nut-yielding cones. Except the hardier pines and firs there are no trees and there is no cultivation. Tradition says indeed that a cherry once ripened in a garden at Campler and we ourselves have seen a potato patch near the same sheltered village; but these must have been exceptional favours of exceptional years. The season for visitors lasts through the summer from the middle of June to the middle of September. It is a short summer, but it compensates for its brevity by intensifying its charms of fair weather and floral beauty. Nature has nothing more delicate and more profuse than her Alpine flower-world. In July the high pastures are enamelled with a thousand starry eyes; woods and rocks are vivid with the inimitable blue of gentians or the powdered pink of the Alpine rose; each brook has its forget-me-nots; a host of dainty flowers bloom and charm where but a few weeks past lay heavily the infertile snow. The summer climate is delightful, especially up to ten or eleven o'clock, when there is rarely any wind; the dry pure air with its edge of morning freshness is most exhilarating; a bright sun which does not blind and a clear sky without glare are in luxurious contrast both to London and Bengal. Between ten and eleven a daily recurring wind begins to blow up or down the valley, subsiding after a few hours. When it comes from the glaciers and snow-fields of the Maloja it is so keen that few new-comers can

bear exposure to it ; it is, however, said to be an important factor in producing the singularly dry air of the Engadin. Meteorological observations show an unusually high annual average of fine days. Our experience of St. Moritz, in this year (1876) is that in the first five weeks of our stay we had one morning of snow and two of rain—the afternoons and all the other days being perfectly clear and fine.

It is remarkable that at so great an elevation and in a region so unproductive as the Upper Engadin, there should be numerous villages. In the sixteen miles above St. Moritz there are five ; Campfer, which being well sheltered, is a favourite place for lengthened residence ; Silva Plana, a busy posting town at the foot of the Julier Pass ; Sils Basalgia (the church village) and Sils Maria, the latter charmingly situated in the mouth of the glacier-encircled Fex-valley and Cullag, a poor and weather-beaten village, near which the Inn enters the Engadin. Besides these there are several hamlets, Surlej, half ruined by the overflow of its torrent ; Isola, well-named from its lonely situation, and the group of houses at the summit of the Maloja Pass. Below St. Moritz again, in the broad level valley, is a close series of prosperous villages. First come Cresta and Cellerina separated only by a small but troublesome brook. In them is seen genuine Engadin architecture, the houses are large with thick walls and deep-set small windows, usually guarded by ancient and curiously wrought iron gratings. On several are seen the arms we are so frequently to meet again in our Engadin wanderings, of the principal Graubünden families, Planta and Salis. Many window sills are gay with flowers, the most generally cultivated being a fine pink carnation ; for these villages are considerably lower and much more sheltered than St. Moritz. Near Cellerina the Inn receives from the Bernina district a strong stream, the Flatz, grey and heavy with the mud of a great glacier region and it loses for ever the limpidity and azure tints of its upper stream. The next village is Samaden, the head-quarters of the Upper Engadin, wealthy and well-built, with a population of a little under seven hundred. Looking back from it there is a splendid view into the Flatz valley, and through its tributary valleys of Roseg and Morteratsch to the gigantic ice-peaks of the Bernina. In the middle distance rises Pontresina, less bracing than St. Moritz but surpassing it in the magnificence of its outlook. The foreground is prosaic—a level expanse of pasture interspersed by patches of stony or swampy ground and traversed by the high banks of two canals in which are restrained the unruly Inn and Flatz. Below Samaden again is Bevers at the mouth of a deep valley characterised by its still an and oppressive solitude ; by its broad patches of tall monkshood

and of gorgeous orange arnica.* Six miles lower is a group of three villages, within call of each other; Ponte, said to have the most inclement climate of the Engadin, is noted as being the first place where Protestantism was preached in the valley, and as being the scene of a battle between the French and Austrians in 1799, which was fought for six hours in snow six feet deep; Campo Vasto or Camogask and Madulein, overlooked by the ruins of the fortress Guardavall, concerning the destruction of which a romantic legend is preserved. To these succeed Zuz and Scaufs—the last village visible from St. Moritz and the ninth within the space of thirteen miles.

Most of the villages I have enumerated have their tale of summer visitors, some of them indeed seem to exist only for the reception of guests. The most frequented are St. Moritz and Pontresina each having its special clientèle; a roughly drawn line separating their visitors into invalids and mountaineers. St. Moritz, on account of its mineral springs and exceptionally bracing air, is *par excellence* a sanatorium; Pontresina, from its position, a centre for Alpine excursions. The village of St. Moritz occupies a remarkable situation in being higher than the summit of the Maloja Pass. It is a heterogeneous collection of old crowded houses and spacious new hotels and pensions. St. Moritz Bath is some 280 feet lower than the village; some people describe it as built in a swamp but this is incorrect although it is on the flat bottom of the valley at the level of the lake. Three huge and many smaller hotels and pensions receive its crowd of "cure-makers," the Kurhaus being almost exclusively frequented by continental foreigners, the others being used by numerous English.

The mineral waters of St. Moritz are of old repute; the first mention of the now so-called old spring is found in the writings of Paracelsus, who appears to have visited and examined it between 1525 and 1535. It is, however, only within the last half century that their present high tide of guests has set towards the Engadin and its springs. The waters resemble excellent seltzer water, and are very agreeable for drinking and for bathing. Their characteristic ingredients are carbonic acid and iron; they are said to be second only to Schwalbach in the degree of their iron impregnation. Early in the morning, by half-past six, the square in front of the Kurhaus is a scene of great activity, as this is the best time for making the "cure" and the best way of doing it is to alternate a glass of water with a brisk walk

* The peasantry have much faith in the healing virtues of this plant; they say that the chamois have also, and that before attempting a long jump they nibble the Arnica plant as an antidote against possible strains and bruises.

of ten minutes ; the duration of the process depending on medical orders. A band plays, the post comes in, there is much cheerful chat, and carriages and omnibuses pour in from adjacent villages bringing visitors to perform their morning duties. Drinking is followed by bathing, an enjoyable sedative to which the only drawback is the coffin-like aspect of the bath in which the patient is literally enclosed. It might be expected that the sight of so many people engaged in improving their health would be melancholy and dispiriting ; as a matter of fact few of the presumed invalids look ill, and one is spared the pathetic sights which sadden visitors to Davos, or to Buxton. Judging from appearances there are few "cure-makers" afflicted by severe illness, but many who are overworked and exhausted by mental or physical strain. For these the Engadin is an admirable physician. There are however two classes of people whom it does not suit—those who suffer from heart-disease and those who have the misfortune to be unusually stout.

The society of the Kurhaus, which is chiefly German, is sociable and genial ; *soirées dansantes* are held twice a week, there are not unfrequently professional concerts and other public entertainments, and there are always among the 300 guests many excellent amateur musicians, who are willing to contribute to the general enjoyment. Of any other hotels in St. Moritz I have no experience ; the Kulm in the village has an excellent reputation, but of all it must be said that they are not places in which to economise.

After a lengthened stay at an altitude so great as that of St. Moritz (6,087 feet) it is unadvisable to descend rapidly to a much lower level. In any one of several pleasant half-way houses, such as Poschiavo on the Bernina and Mühlen on the Julier, a halt of a few days can be agreeably made, but the most enjoyable method of avoiding a too sudden change of climate is to travel slowly down the Inn valley to Innsbruck, a route especially suited to returning Anglo-Indians who intend to embark at Venice. The distance, some 150 miles, can be accomplished by carriage in three days, but if the Engadin has done its work of restoration well, the best plan is to walk, a plan rendered feasible to even moderate pedestrians by the frequent succession of villages in each of which there is a, at least decent, post inn.

There is always some romance associated with flowing water ; there is a special charm in watching the growth of a stream whose tributaries hasten to it from high hanging glaciers, from lonely tarns, and from the solitudes of the "many folded hills." The route from the Upper Engadin to Innsbruck has this charm, it follows the Inn from its infancy in the barren highlands of the Maloja to the fertile fields and strong stream of its lower valley,

through a descent of 3,000 feet; a descent which entails great variety in vegetation, in the occupations of the people and in the character of their dwelling-places. It leads us across the sharply defined line between the Republicanism and tenacious Protestantism of the Engadin and the fervent loyalty and equally tenacious Catholicism of the Tirol. The scenery is beautiful throughout; the post roads are excellent, and there are in many places good village roads which can be taken in preference on account of their greater directness or beauty. The Engadiners speak Romansch, a dialect which has considerable affinity with Italian, but most of the younger people speak or understand German. In the Tirol, German, sometimes awkwardly disguised by provincialisms, is universal.

The Inn is an adopted child in the valley which becomes its home and in which it makes its appearance by dashing itself, a mere brooklet, over a precipice. Its birthplace is the small lake Longhino, difficult of access and remarkable as sending forth three streams to three different seas, the Inn which flows with the Danube to the Black Sea, a second which joins the Adda and flows to the Adriatic, and a third which flows with the Oberhalbstein tributary of the Rhine to the German Ocean. Within the first 16 miles of its course in the Engadin the Inn drains the four lakes already described, of Sils, Silvaplana, Campfer and St. Moritz, quitting the last by a picturesque fall. As far as Zuz its course is through broad and level meadows, but here the character of the scenery changes, the valley narrows and deepens, road and river sink into a fir covered ravine, passing a group of houses which see no sun during three winter months, and shaded gullies where in September at the river's level still lies last year's snow. In the Lower Engadin, which is entered a little below Zuz, the villages are for the most part delightfully situated on sunny mountain shoulders and are connected by a village road running along the heights, when as is usual, the post road keeps the river side. The boundary between the Upper and Lower Engadin is a stream near Cinuschel, crossed by a bridge Puntauta (*pons altus*). It is said that when the Engadiners became Protestants, and wished to put away from them the symbols of their old faith, those living in this neighbourhood discussed the propriety of selling their pictures, images, &c, but decided that what was evil for them was evil for all and consequently threw their degraded treasures from the Puntauta into the stream below.

Following the river the next place of interest is Zernetz, built in a triangle at the junction of the Inn and the Spöl. The Spöl is a tumultuous and mischievous stream, which, pouring down from the Ofener Pass, doubles the volume of the Inn. Zernetz, like many a Swiss village, has been burnt down more than once.

It is still only half rebuilt after a fire in 1872, by which the church and a castle of the Planta family were almost the only buildings uninjured. Our inn here was rather primitive; a grindstone on the first floor and a ladder to reach the second are probably temporary arrangements, but the immediate neighbourhood of the hayloft to the best rooms is a permanent institution. The landlady could speak no German and consequently could not understand our congratulations on the preservation from the fire of her curious old homespun house linen, embroidered with red cotton and trimmed with lace of local manufacture—some of it dated 1834. Certainly if philology had not demolished the Tower of Babel it must long ago have fallen under the weight of the oburgations of travellers!

From Zernetz to Sûs, in the early morning, the road is charming, pleasant with the perfume of pines, and gay with scarlet barberries. It passes near a secluded valley known as Baldinon's Schlucht, from its having been used as a place of refuge by fugitives from the persecution of the Austrian General, Baldinon, who seems to have acquired in the Engadin a reputation for cruelty equal to that of Claverhouse in Scotland. At Sûs, the valley opens and is broken by low hills, planted with potatoes, barley and rye.

The grain was just ripe when we passed; the fields were cheerful with groups of workers; the oxen loosed from the carts were browsing the hedgerows in charge of children too young for any other service than to prevent furtive snatches at the scanty harvest; babies slept in the shade, and small boys and girls laughed and tumbled unchecked and in safety in dangerous places. Professor Theobald, a writer cordially recommended to all visitors to the Engadin, tells a good story of the wifely consideration of a lady of Sûs. In 1555 there was here a destructive flood, by which the river bridge was carried away. At the moment of its fall the wife of a minister of the Swiss Reformed Church, named Cambell was in the act of crossing. She stood for some time on a broken beam, witness of the efforts made by her husband and friends for her rescue. Seeing that there was no hope of their success, with practical self-possession she loosed her keys from her girdle, flung them across the torrent to her husband, and was shortly afterwards carried away with the remnant of the bridge.

To Sûs succeed three charmingly situated villages, Lavin (Lavinium) Guarda and Ardetz (Ardea); two of which are said to owe their origin and names to Roman colonists. Immediately on leaving Ardetz the road enters what we judged the most beautiful part of the beautiful Engadin. The lateral ranges retire; the valley is filled by high hills, some covered by well-grown larch-woods, others yellow with ripened grain or green with rich pasture; one is crested by Schloss Tarasp, on a high plateau

are the white houses of sunny Vulpera ; the river is lost in its deep channel ; the whole is bounded by huge mountains, some snowy, others grey and barren, in two places pierced by tributary valleys, the woody Val Plafna and the dark cleft of Val Clemigia. The traveller is not long allowed to enjoy this sunny landscape, down hastens the road into a chill shade by the river, and for several miles, keeps him in the noise of its grey rapids, only letting him escape when he has passed the sunless Kurhaus of Tarasp, which niched between the road and the river is almost as dismal a residence as the supremely dismal Bad Pfeffers. It is nevertheless much frequented on account of its mineral springs. The two principal sources are named after the British saints, honoured at Chur, Lucius and Emerita. It is not unusual for persons who have been drinking the waters of St. Moritz to complete their cure and break their descent at Bad Tarasp.

Two miles below* the Kurhaus is Schuls, the chief town of the lower Engadin, enjoying from its upper portion a splendid view. In the valley bottom, on a high rock, is the church, a plain building standing in an untended grave-yard, crowded with unnamed graves. The only mound which bears any record is the burial place of a visitor, a Scotchman. This enclosure is of historical interest ; the people of Schuls tell with pride that their ancestors, men and women, valiantly defended it against the Austrians, and thus for some time kept a far superior force in check. Sunday in Schuls is a thorough holiday. At St. Moritz field work is continued on Sunday, possibly because the labourers are Catholics from the Valteline whose first care is to finish their contract work and return home. Sunday morning in Schuls showed empty fields and a general appearance of holiday ; a large congregation, the women almost all dressed in black, thronged to the church ; in the afternoon the market square and the numerous benches set " out-of-doors " in the streets were filled by gossiping groups of prosperous well-dressed peasants. Schuls receives a large number of summer visitors ; and as *on paie toujours*, must endure amongst its simple village houses the eyesores of two over-grown many-storied hotels and of an astonishing seven-storied Bakerei.

A quaint old inn, Zum Piz Chiampatreh still remains for discreet travellers who speak German and like to know something of Schuls and its people at first hand. Its host, Herr K  nz, is well-informed and obliging ; he is the head of the local guides and can give all information about the numerous beautiful and interesting excursions of the neighbourhood. Part of his house, now disused as a residence, is of historic interest. From a small square hole, serving as a window, an old Swiss fired at Baldiron as he came down with his adjutants from sacking Fettau. " If I kill him " he had said, " I do God's work." But Baldiron wore arm-

our beneath his clothes, off which the ball glanced and left him unhurt to take a barbarous revenge on the unfortunate old patriot who had so misinterpreted the designs of Providence.

There are near Schuls several well-situated villages, the resort of those who wish to drink the Tarasp waters and to avoid the Kurhaus. Amongst these the most attractive on account of the beauty of its outlook is Fettan, three miles higher in the valley than Schuls and several hundred feet higher above the sea, on the left slope of the Inn valley. Its air is bracing and it has fair accommodation for a limited number of visitors. Between it and Schuls, under a hillock recognizable by its scorched vegetation, are several small apertures through which free carbonic acid is emitted. The quantity varies, being greatest in winter; we perceived none in the summer, but there were signs of its presence, a dead mouse in one of the apertures and some fragments of charred paper, this last a relic of the experiments of former visitors. The neighbourhood of Schuls is rich in such Dünsthöhle, and in the variety and number of its mineral springs, one resembling in flavour the excellent seltzer of St. Moritz.

In the 20 miles we have yet to traverse from Schuls to the Austrian frontier, at Martinsbrück, there are several villages, but most of them lie out of sight on the middle heights. The road which leads through them is, on account of its freer situation, probably preferable to the secluded post road. Martinsbrück is a mere group of custom houses with a small inn. It stands at the mouth of the stupendous gorge of Finstermünz, the cliffs of which here approach so near as to leave passage only for the river. For this reason perhaps or perhaps for some strategical purpose, the high road is not continued through the gorge, but crossing the Inn into the Tirol winds up a steep hillside for at least an hour, and quits the Inn valley. It descends immediately into that of the Stillen Bach, and passes through Nauders, whence it turns again to the Inn valley in such a manner that one may say it forms two sides of a triangle of which the Finstermünz gorge is the base and Nauders the apex.*

Before leaving the Eugadin I must say a few words about its courteous and hospitable people. They are with the exception of the villagers of Tarasp, members of the Reformed Church; elementary education is universal, and school attendance to the age of 15 compulsory; they are well-to-do, and there are no beggars in the whole length of the valley with the exception of a few stray foreigners. In the Upper Eugadin (and perhaps also

* Foot passengers who are in haste can take the indifferent foot-path which leads from Martinsbrück direct through the gorge, but this is not ad-

visible for those who have time to make the détour to Nauders and the Finstermünz Pass.

in the Lower) it is common for the young men to seek their fortune as confectioners, liqueur and chocolate makers, cooks, etc., and also in higher situations; but they always return to their native valley when they have acquired a competency. This accounts for the large number of comfortable and well-built houses, in villages, which offer no apparent opportunity for money-making. The Engadiners have been self-governed since 1428-1436, the period of the formation of the Grey League (Grau Bund). Although, the Canton Graubünden has belonged to Switzerland since 1803 it was not until 1848 that the 26 small republics of which it was composed merged their independence in the central Swiss Government. Judging from their newspapers one would say that its people are still extremely jealous of interference in their local affairs. The general impression left by our stay amongst the Engadiners is that they are an honourable and courteous people, simple in their tastes and untroubled by extravagant ideals of worldly success. Their lives appear contented and hard-working, and they seem able in spite of the many rigours of their mountain climate to compass a considerable amount of domestic comfort.

II. THE UPPER INN VALLEY.

AT Martinsbrück the valley of the Inn loses its name of Engadin and is known as the Inn Thal. As we cross the dividing bridge we are advised by the imperial eagle and the crucifix that we have left Republicanism and Protestantism behind. Nauders, the first Tirolese village, is a busy posting place; lying as it does at the junction of several much frequented roads. From it starts the Stelvio Pass road, leading into Italy over the highest of all Alpine driving passes; and the road to Méran and Botzen in the south Tirol. We saw it full of the hurry and bustle of a sheep fair, which was taking place within a walled enclosure and furnished many an episode amusing to a spectator, by the difficulty of separating individual animals from the flock and of inducing them to repair to their new abodes. In several cases this was only effected when (it was generally) a woman carried off her refractory purchase in her arms. Here, as in all Tirolese villages we passed later, frescoes of saints are common on the outer walls of houses and churches; and not seldom a crucifix is conspicuous by its size and position in the inn-parlour. Robertson of Brighton remarks on this subject that he never observed that the presence of the crucifix had any solemnizing effect on the occupants of the room. It would be strange if it had in a country where the image of suffering is so constantly before the eye that its actual portraiture of

pain and its symbolism of redemption lose all meaning. Devout as the Tirolese peasantry undoubtedly is, wayside shrines and household crucifixes do not seem its chosen places for prayer. It is rare to observe any one kneeling at either or showing any reverence in passing. At a village inn near Landeck there is a curious illustration of the incongruity which superstitious use of holy things may produce. Over the door is a grotesque sign of two bacchanalian griffins, drinking and dancing, which is surmounted by a picture of the Madonna and child of more than usual refinement of expression and execution. I may mention, while on this subject, a curious wayside chapel between Silz and Zirl. It is erected in honour of St. Apollonia, a martyr portrayed as having her teeth torn out with impossibly large pincers. Within the railing which protects the picture lie on a bracket or are suspended by strings from its edge, a quantity of teeth. A Tirolese girl, with a shade of affronted suspicion at our question, informed us that these were votive offerings from sufferers who had been cured of tooth-ache by praying at this shrine. In the Tirol we passed many rude pictured memorials of accidents, erected with a frequency which speaks clearly of the dangers of a mountainous country. Under the representation of the manner of death are inscribed the name, age, &c., of the victim with a request for the prayers of the charitable. On so many, numerous wayfarers have written their names that one supplies a reason for what would otherwise be a desecration and guesses that they have said the requested Ave or Vater Unser, and wish to leave a memorandum for the priest whose duty it is to make up the purgatorial account of the victim. These memorials record death by falling stones or trees, by floods, by falls from precipices, &c., &c. A singularly large number commemorate the death by the roadside of persons struck by paralysis or apoplexy (*Schlag-fluss*.)

It is a magnificent walk through the Finstermünz Pass; the road—a broad military causeway—after crossing the mountain basin in which Nauders lies, enters a fortified cleft, through which the Stillen Bach leaps down to join the Inn, and emerges without descending into the Inn Thal, at a height from which herdsmen and cows in the river meadows look like toys; opposite tower the grim peaks of Mount Mondin, and to the right rises perpendicularly the great cliff on whose face the road is hewn. There is a beautifully situated group of houses towards the end of the pass, called Hoch Finstermünz, from which one looks back through the gorge and sees again the mountains and glaciers of the lower Engadin. Near this point we had our first experience of the incomprehensibility of rural Tirolese German. We addressed a number of questions to an

old, a very old, toilworn woman who responded with a flood of words as though she loved gossip and had been solitary for a week. We thanked her and passed on. "What did she say?" asked one. "Did you not understand?" "No." "Nor I. I hoped you did."

A few miles lower, the valley opens and the scenery notwithstanding a greater irregularity in the mountain forms which are here often fantastic, becomes less desolate. There are fields of rye and barley, not only in the valley but on what must be weary heights to climb; cleared patches among the highest fir-woods, cheerful and home-like places, surrounding sociable groups of chalets. Each small "hill-station" has its chapel, the larger and lower ones which reach to the dignity of hamlets or villages have frequently a church with the graceful and slender wooden spire, coloured crimson which forms such a picturesque feature in Tirolese landscapes. Lovers of unmitigated solitude will of course disagree with the opinion that these dwelling-places are for every reason welcome. Artistically regarded they certainly give variety of form and colour and are in themselves picturesque. The ideas of the interwoven life of a community which they suggest vivify the inanimate landscape; to realize this one needs only after admiring the situation of (e. g.) Ladis niched among rocks in the shadow of Schloss Landegg, replace it in fancy by the few square yards it covers, as they were in their earlier solitude. The spot would attract no attention, included in the somewhat vague description of an indefinite number of miles of hill and valley, "beautiful scenery." Apart from its suggestive situation under the walls of an ancient stronghold, Ladis in common with all such high and safely niched villages has another interest. It stands as a sign of conquest in man's unequal struggle with nature. In a country where so many difficulties must be grappled with, it is cheering to see some overthrown; a sunny shoulder, cleared of the smaller stones and rocks, laboriously shaped into terraces to withstand the wash of heavy rains, and in return yielding pasture or corn land, or a turbulent stream led quietly through a strong masonry canal instead of spreading destruction over many an acre; or an unstable slope fixed by the clinging roots of trees which serve too as bulwarks against avalanches. All such sights are eloquent of an unremitting struggle in which man sometimes wins. The bare pine trunks inverted in the track of an avalanche, the ruined cottages near the torrent, and the stone-strewn fields show that he is often worsted. Little wonder that an ignorant people should seek supernatural protection and cover their fields with crosses and shrines, but much wonder that they have so long preserved faith in their efficacy! Below the Finstermünz defile, there is a meadow path to Pfunds,

a path which must be charming when in shade. The Inn valley is only thoroughly enjoyable by early risers who get their day's march over before the heat of the day, for the heat is often excessive and there is little shade. The next good-sized village to Pfunds is Tösens, so named from the rapids of the river; and as we saw it a peaceful place in spite of its brawling waters. It was evening, the cows were all housed except one belated and self-lamenting creature which kept her mistress waiting and calling on the door-step,—the curé was pacing before his comfortable house and well-stocked garden, breviary in hand waiting till the vesper bell should have rung in his evening congregation, and groups of gossips dotted the grassy roadside, presumably on their way to church. All the Tirolese villages, as in the Engadin, have an appearance of comfort and well-being. Their roomy houses, large gardens, and the absence of anything like grinding poverty, force one to think with humiliation of what could be said of a succession of English villages. One of the pleasant features both of Tirolese and Swiss life is the good understanding that subsists between the people and their domestic animals. Horses and cattle are well-fed and kept, and seem endowed with more intelligence than their brethren in other countries. When one sees the handsome oxen or sensible-faced cows, harnessed in the humane fashions prevalent in the valley of the Inn, one wonders if it would be possible to reform Pir Baksh. The Tirolese seems even a better mode than the Swiss, in so far as by the use of a well-padded collar, fastened at the peak by a buckle and strap, it puts the strain on the shoulders and removes it from the head; certainly the animal looks more comfortable without the heavy head yoke and seems to show by tossing its head that it is proud of its brass studded harness.

Tirolese men have the reputation of being somewhat idle and of preferring the desultory life of sportsmen to the toilsome life of agriculturists; certainly if it were safe to generalize from our experience we should say that the women do more than their share of field labour. No task seems too heavy for them. I retain a vivid image of one woman, who would have made an admirable model for Millet. She was tall and yellow-haired, dressed in the common short ungraceful skirt of thick blue stuff; with bare feet, which sank deep into the newly dug earth; she wielded her rake with an energy, which irresistibly suggested, at least when one saw her anxious face, that she had to hurry home to cook the family dinner. Millet would have depicted the inroads made by too hard labour on her still youthful beauty as he would also have depicted the wreck of many another graceful form, crippled and prematurely aged by exposure and over-work in Tirolese meadows.

Below Tösens come Ried and Prutz, and above them on the heights Ladis and the bathing establishment of Obladis, the best

in the Tirol; then the entrance to the Kaunser Thal is passed and its temptations to leave the direct road and explore its pleasant village-strewn Alps and its head of glacier-striped mountains are left behind. The valley narrows and becomes a mere defile, crossed at its entrance by the historic Pontlazer Brücke. This bridge has twice been the scene of a battle between the Tirolese and Bavarians in 1703 and 1809, in both of which the former were completely successful. Sir Walter Scott gives a graphic account of the last and most important of these. The Bavarians were coming from Landeck towards Prutz by a road which, for a full hour before reaching the bridge, runs at a considerable height above the river, on the face of a precipitous cliff. On this cliff, near the bridge, the Tirolese under Hofer had posted themselves, had piled up heaps of stones, loose earth and trees at its edge and had fixed them with ropes. The Bavarian advance guard was allowed to pass unmolested to Prutz: the main body deceived by this entered the defile. The first warning of the presence of the Tirolese was given by a question, asked high above their heads, "Is it time?" "No." Then there was silence and the Bavarians marched onwards to the Pontlazer Bridge. Then the silence was again broken by the order "Let go in the name of the Holy Trinity." The ropes were loosed, down thundered the avalanche of débris and crushed or swept in the river nearly two-thirds of the Bavarian force. The few who escaped were at the mercy of the Tirolese marksmen posted on the opposite side of the river, and the general with the advance guard being surrounded at Prutz was compelled to surrender. Thus the whole army of 1,400 men fell into the hands of the patriots.

The stretch of road through the gorge below the Pontlazer Brücke is shadeless and toilsome; one gladly forgets its discomforts and its terrible associations in the fine view across the Inn of fertile Alps and sunny hamlets, and of the grey peaks of Paseyrspitze which close the valley towards Landeck.

Landeck is a delightful little town, smiling over a broad expanse of maize and pasture, in spite of the frowns of Paseyrspitze. A castle looks down on it, Schloss Landeck, now serving as a residence for several poor families, some of whom were reduced to poverty by the ravages of a flood. The Inn valley is besprinkled with castles, perched in situations such that one suspects with King James in another country that their builders were thieves at heart. Of all the defiant and aggressive strongholds I have seen the small grey castle of Schrofenstein is the most defiant and aggressive, although it consists of little more than a single tower. It stands on a high pointed rock over against Schloss Landeck, at an angle of Paseyrspitze whence it can overlook three roads. There is no visible means of approach, indeed we were told that it is now

inaccessible. The mere sight of it starts trains of sensational incidents even in an unimaginative spectator; it would make the fortune of an exhausted novelist, for it and its situation are groundwork for a harrowing plot.

In the neighbourhood of Landeck and perhaps elsewhere in the Tirol, there still take place wrestling matches in which a thick ring, a *cestus*, is used as a weapon. The victor is rewarded with a plume of blackcock feathers, which he wears in his hat; to have been the victor in one of these contests is considered a high distinction. Landeck has a pilgrimage church founded in memory of the restoration of two lost children to their parents by the interposition of the Madonna. A picture and inscription affixed to a fir in the churchyard commemorate the remarkable event. The story goes that the father and mother, good pious people, went out one day, leaving their boy and girl at home, and that on their return the children were not to be found. The parents ran to their neighbours and searched the wood, but in vain. After many hours of fruitless wandering they came upon a small image of the Madonna nailed to the trunk of a tree; they threw themselves before it and entrusted further search to her. Hardly had they done so when a wolf and a bear issued from the wood, each carrying a child in its mouth, and as the picture shows, courteously laid them down at the foot of the tree before the astonished parents. So the church of Our Lady of Landeck came to be founded and the roads to be enlivened by bands of pilgrims. We met one such, of 15 or 20 young men and women, all provided with large knapsacks and all dressed in a Tirolese costume of which the broad hat was the distinctive feature. They marched quickly past us, to the rhythm of a chant or invocation, which by its monotony and tone recalled the song of the *palkee-wallah*.

A visit to the churchyard made us conclude that the sunny Landeck must exercise some evil influence on its children. It is full of tiny grave-mounds, and at least one grave stone showed a long list of deaths in early childhood. Of course we had seen enough in the Inn valley to make us wonder that any children are left to grow up in it. They cannot be born wise: then why do they not roll over the dangerous precipices on which they play or fall into the river as so many a man has done? But Landeck is not specially dangerous and its children have a remarkable appearance of beauty and health. We made enquiry of the talkative waitress at the "Black Eagle." "Healthy? yes! certainly, Landeck is healthy." "The grave stone with the name 'Müller and so many children's names. That is the postmaster's stone, he is always named Müller and the stone has belonged to 'three postmasters.'" Our remaining suspicion of the air of Landeck vanished before a closer inspection, which disclosed to us

the Tirolese custom of raising a short mound only, even on the grave of a grown-up person.

At Landeck we found ourselves in a slight difficulty with our luggage. This nuisance to pedestrians can be safely consigned to a Swiss diligence and this we had done. At Nauders we had with some trouble persuaded the driver of the Stellwagen to convey it to Landeck. The Stellwagen is a cheap and lofty omnibus which looks as though it had borrowed its wheels. It is not a tempting vehicle, though it is much used. At Landeck a new line of Stellwagen begins, a private undertaking, and the driver objected to carry our luggage though he was willing to take it and us. The imperial and royal post does not carry large boxes. Help was vaguely suggested by the boots, who thought that it was possible a Führmann (carrier) would come, to-day or to-morrow, or certainly within a few days, and may be he would carry the luggage to Innsbruck. So we waited not unwillingly and strolled up the Rosanna Thal and observed the quaint and pious observances of the people. The Führmann came, after only a day's delay, a *bonâ fide* carter, concerning himself with baggage only; but then his open cart need not, like the Stellwagen, offer a bribe to tempt passengers into its uncomfortable depths.

The walk from Landeck to Imst is one of the most beautiful of the valley, and if I were not convinced of the inutility of raptures to convey an impression of its charms, I should be tempted to fall into them. But I refrain, and merely mention that there are in it two distinguishing points; the great cliff from which Schloss Kionburg looks back to Schroffenstein and the sharp cone of the Tschügant which from afar excites one's curiosity by its isolated appearance, seeming as it does to form no part of the lateral ranges of the valley.

Imst, situated a short distance up the Gurgel Thal, is a centre for many mountain excursions. It is an old town, having received its charter in 1282. It was once noted for its trade in canaries, a delicate article of commerce for such a stern locality. It has now two paper factories, one of which was opened by an Englishman, and a high school is being built. It has 2,236 inhabitants and is the chief place of a judicial district containing 10,561 inhabitants; it is the head-quarters of the district administration, of the district courts, of a diocese and has a capuchin monastery. Will it be credited that a book-seller's shop is not to be found in this centre of so many interests? We enquired for one after a fruitless search and were directed to Innsbruck: perhaps this absence of books is the cause of the rather superannuated Catholicism of the Tirol and doubtless it is one cause of the ignorance of the rural population. Learning and want of devotion to the church are considered inseparable; in the ironical language of

a writer in the "*Alpen Freund*," the peasants pray "O Lord ! preserve our children from geography and natural history and keep them as their fathers were." We found the local newspapers full of indignation at the supposed Prussianizing and Protestantizing influence of the Tirolese branch of the German Alpine club. One newspaper paragraph, which made the round of the continental papers, narrated that a German who wished to purchase some land in the neighbourhood of a Tirolese village, went there to look it over and met with scant hospitality at his inn and a refusal to sell him the land. When he asked the reason, he was told "Because you are a Protestant." After hearing this in 1876, one is less amazed that in 1838 four hundred Protestants should have been expelled from the Ziller Thal, in the neighbourhood of Innsbrück and books. The census return for 1872 shows the almost perfect unanimity of Catholic opinion ; " Catholics 775, 476 ; Protestants 670 ; Unitarians and other Christians 29 ; Jews 107 ; Heathen 1."

A few miles below Imst open the celebrated valleys of Oetz and Pitz, dear to the mountaineer on account of the grandeur of their glaciers, and of the numerous passes which lead from them into the Vintschgau. Between Imst and Silz is the first sign of navigation on the Inn ; a rude ferry boat, worked in the simple fashion which all who have seen the ferry over the Rhine at Basel will recal, by allowing the force of the current to work against the boat in opposition to the tension of a rope suspended across the stream. Lower down the river below Telfs we saw a raft, on which placidly gossiped two market-women seated by their piled baskets of garden produce, while several men steadied the unwieldy logs through the rapids with long poles. These were the only craft we met with on the stream, which is too rapid to be useful for navigation.

Fourteen miles below Imst stands the finely situated Schloss Petersburg, the birth place of Margaret (so-called) Maultasch, (of the wide mouth,) countess and heiress of the Tirol. She ceded her inheritance to Duke Rudolf IV. in 1363 ; and thus the Tirol became part of that Austrian Empire to which it has ever since retained so devoted an attachment. Near the castle is a splendid fir-wood traversed by the post road. It is bordered by a set of unusually well-painted stations, possibly placed here because the Tirolese are apt to think their woods uncanny after dark.

A few miles lower, beyond Silz, is the Cistercian monastery of Stams. It was founded in 1271 by Elizabeth, the mother of Conrad, the last of the Hohenstauffens, with money she had collected for his ransom, and which on his execution in captivity she devoted to this pious purpose. A pleasant association of the grey old building, is that the genial Maximilian held court here

sometimes, and that he here in 1497 received the ambassadors of Sultan Bajazet, who came seeking for their master the hand of Kunigunde, sister to the Emperor. At such a time what life and colour must have filled the quiet courts and the well-tended garden of the monastery! It is a fine building, containing an extensive library and good collections of art and natural treasures; it seems to have within and around it all the means for tranquil and studious retirement.

Near Telfs, a considerable manufacturing town, the post road crosses to the left bank of the Inn, and a good "commercial strasse" commences on the right bank, shorter and more picturesque than the post road. It connects a close succession of villages, and amongst other places, passes through Oberhofen, a hamlet which enjoys the reputation, rare in rural Tirol, of valuing education.

A writer in the *Alpen Freund* (1871), named J. Günther, laments the ignorance of his countrymen, and under the title "Ein Oase," honourably distinguishes the small community of Oberhofen. The hamlet is situated on a very destructive brook, the Kanzing, which absorbs in dams and annual repairs all available public funds, and also used to entail a rather heavy charge for certain prayers said over it by the parish priest. The number of children attending school was eighty; too many to be properly taught by the one teacher of the hamlet; but the inhabitants could not afford to pay another, and therefore cast about to see if they could economise and save the small fee necessary from the public expenses. They decided to appropriate the sum paid hitherto for prayers by the brook side, saying that they hoped and believed that the Lord would not be angry if the prayers were restricted to the church. Herr Günther narrates a curious episode which shows that at least in Oberhofen there is not unquestioning obedience to the wishes of the clergy. He was present in the church on the feast-day of the Madonna, when a stranger, a priest from a neighbouring seminary, officiated. This priest, contrary to the village custom, placed two plates at the sides of the altar with the expectation that the congregation would lay their offerings for the seminary funds on them. No one moved to give, and after waiting a short time, he lost patience, hurried into the pulpit and addressing an image of the Madonna cried "O! holy mother of God! blame not these parishioners; they are misled! See! with outstretched hands I pray for the blinded people. Amen!" He then descended and continued the service. The congregation remained astonished and silent. The occurrence gave rise to a doggrel verse, of which the German rendering is as follows:—

' Dominus vobiscum ;

' Leert den Bauern den Geldbeuteln um

' Leert ihn vollends um.'

The next place of special interest in our journey is a mile below Zirl, the celebrated Martinswand, a precipice of more than two thousand feet in height. In its face, high above the road, is a rock chapel dug to mark the edge on which the Emperor Maximilian was caught in his fall over the precipice. No wonder, thought we as we looked up to the place, that when he lay there head downwards, powerless to move unaided, the good priests gave up hope for the salvation of his body and did their best for that of his soul, by prayers at the foot of the rock. No wonder that his deliverer, an outlaw or hunter named Zipper, should be mistaken for an angel and his rescue be considered a miracle. Martinswand is passed in the last day's march down the valley, for it is only four hours from Innsbruck, and at Kranebitten, a pretty group of an inn and some cottages, we see something which reconciles us to quitting "Bohemia;" a straight road of nearly four miles in length, leading down the broad valley to Innsbruck, and thence continuing its prosaic way to Hall. Before entering this alley there is a fine view of Innsbruck and its wide-spread suburbs; the bourne to which *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*, we have turned our steps for so many days. We found our *quieta sedes* in one of those great hotels which are scrupulously fashioned to English travelling taste. It was a rude awakening from our enjoyment of things Tirolese and novel. The head waiter, an elegant citizen of Lubeck, assured us "we don't like Germans here," and shrugged his shoulders compassionately on the expression of an opinion adverse to the English oasis system.

Innsbruck must be familiar to many Anglo-Indians, lying as it does on one of the railway routes to Venice. It has a population of over 16,000 and a busy and prosperous air. It shows none of the rural aversion to education; it is unusually well supplied with book-shops, has a numerously attended university and many schools. Amongst its historical relics are several of the highest interest and beauty. The most celebrated is the tomb of Maximilian in the Franciscan or Hof Kirche,—known to Innsbruck children as "the church of the black men." The sarcophagus is a marvel of delicate workmanship; it is covered with exquisitely carved tablets of white marble, representing the principal events in the life of the Emperor. Twenty out of the 24 reliefs are by Alexander Colin of Mechlin. It is worthy of remark that this magnificent tomb is empty, the Emperor being buried elsewhere. Round the central casket are ranged 28 tall bronze portrait statues (the "black men,") representing ancestors, contemporaries, and associates of Maximilian—all are of surpassing workmanship. In the same church are monuments to a trio of brave men. Andreas Hofer, Joseph Speckbacher and Joachim Haspinger

and to their comrades in defending their country. Adjoining the church is a small chapel, known as the Silver Chapel, which was built for the reception of the tombs of himself and his wife by Ferdinand the Second, regent of the Tirol from 1563 to 1593. His wife was the beautiful Philippine Welser, whose charms and romantic marriage have surrounded her memory with poetic interest. She was the daughter of an Augsburg merchant, in days when Augsburg merchants were princes in wealth and influence. She was one of three beauties of a city renowned for its beautiful daughters, who at about the same time wedded princely husbands. Tradition says that Philippine was as good as she was lovely, and that her thirty years residence at Schloss Ambras, near Innsbruck, were full of charitable deeds, some of which are sculptured on her tomb. Specimens of her needlework still preserved show that she used her needle with unusual dexterity, and her dainty taste is attested as well by the arrangement of her collection of curiosities in her home, as by the elegant table service of gold and coral preserved in the town museum. Her portrait shows a sweet face, frank and intellectual, and one which must have pleaded powerfully to excuse Ferdinand for his misalliance, even in the eyes of his indignant father.

There is an interesting if small collection of national treasures in the museum. There are relics of the patriot leaders of 1800; swords and flags; Hofer's amulet which he wore always in his hat; Haspinger's crucifix, which he held outstretched as he exhorted his countrymen to fight for their liberties, and many others of equal interest. In the same room are framed many pages from the Radetsky album, which itself fills a large cupboard. Amongst others, mostly accompanied by a motto, letter or poem in honour of the hero, are the autographs of Wellington and the Prince Consort; of Wagner and Litz; of Longfellow and Uhland—Paul Heyse and Grimm. Here too, is the autograph of Wrangel, the veteran to whom within the last nine months (September 1876), the German Emperor sent congratulation on the 80th anniversary of his military service. In another room is a touching illustration of the perseverance with which a master-passion will conquer difficulties. This is a collection of the wood-carving of Josef Kleinhanns of Nauders (1774-1853) a man blind from his fifth year, but who acquired so exquisite a sense of touch, that if allowed to feel a face he could reproduce it in wood. Amongst his works is a bust of Hofer, which bears a strong resemblance to his portraits.

The Friedhof (cemetery) of Innsbruck is well worth a visit. It is surrounded by an arcade, which affords sufficient shelter to allow memorial pictures to be placed within it. Some of these

and also of the sculptures are in excellent taste and of good execution. At the foot of each larger monument are ranged choice plants, the Virginia creeper wreathes every pillar and arch of the arcade and spreads its long sprays over the pavement; the inner quadrangle is gay with the flowers on the lowlier graves; all is well kept and in good taste; it is a "court of peace" for living and dead.

There are many walks round Innsbruck, pleasant either for their beauty alone, as the Lanzer Kopf, or for their historical associations also, as Berg Isel the scene of several victories hard won from France and Bavaria. No one need regret a visit to the quaint old gabled town or a halt in the midst of such a glorious amphitheatre of mountains as that which girds it.

From Innsbruck the direct route to Venice is over the Brenner and through Verona. The Brenner Pass is in itself one of the least interesting of Alpine passes; it affords few distant views as the road for the most part runs in deep and narrow valleys. The railway, however, gives it a new and special character and renders its transit highly interesting. Verona is reached in eleven hours. We spent two days here with much pleasure. It is a town rich in the quaint and picturesque. Its pride centres of course in its beautiful amphitheatre. This is now shorn of the glory of its marble outer wall, but its arena and encircling seats are well preserved. A modern theatre carries on the traditional purpose of the amphitheatre; other entertainments sometimes take place within its walls. After wandering in it and picturing savage scenes in which gladiators and wild beasts had their share, it was a curious contrast to watch on the same spot, a cadet corps performing harmless evolution and singing patriotic songs. Verona has besides the great Piazza Brá, two remarkable squares. The old world Piazza del Signori, with its splendid frescoed Council house, its quiet palaces, its courtly and tranquil air, fitly contains the noble statue of Dante, whom his Veronese contemporaries were proud to welcome when an exile from his native Florence. A short passage leads into the Piazza d' Erbe. This too has its frescoed and ancient houses, but here to-day blots out the past, and one can only look at to-day's sight. In the early morning of a September day the Piazza d' Erbe presents a gorgeous spectacle. Piled in wide baskets are downy peaches and many-tinted apples, green and purple grapes still clouded with bloom, russet pears and medlars, figs, most fragile of garden produce, showing their luscious pink through rents in their black or yellow skins; scarlet tomatoes, all the autumn wealth that a country favoured by sun and soil can yield. The piazza is shaded by huge umbrellas, compared with which those of Benares Brahmans are but mushrooms: under them throng the chattering

buyers and sellers ; it is a kaleidoscopic scene of colour and amusing episodes.

From Verona to Venice is a short journey. To begin to speak of Venice is to open the flood-gates to admiration. Its charms are too many and too well known to be more than alluded to here. There is, however, one place not frequently visited which I may mention. This is Chioggia (Tschosa in Venetian dialect) a miniature Venice, distant two hours by steamer. The way round the Lagune to it is interesting ; the Murazzi (sea-wall) especially so, and so also is Palestrina, a town devoted to lace-making, both of which can be easily visited in the interval before the departure of the steamer.

But the "Baroda" lies in the Lagune and we must leave Venice. But we carry with us many a pleasant memory of our wanderings from remote Chur, memories which will rise refreshingly before the "inward eye," to break evil days of monotonous gloom.

ANNETTE S. BEVERIDGE.

ART. VI.—SEVEN YEARS OF INDIAN LEGISLATION.

1.—*Acts of the Governor-General in Council, 1871-76.*
Calcutta, Govt. Press.

2.—*Selections from the Records of the Government of India—the production of Gold and Silver.* Calcutta, Government Press : 1876.

3.—*The Punjab Administration Report for 1875-76.*

IT is seven years since we cast a backward glance over legislation by the Governor-General in Council during the previous twelve years, and the course of history has brought us to a point where we may conveniently stand again to review these last seven years. We perceive at once, that the distinctive feature of the first period was innovation—of the second codification. The main exceptions to the truth of this remark were the enactments of the Penal Code and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes in the first period ; the main exceptions to its truth in the second will be discussed *seriatim* below. The general truth of it as regards the first period was sufficiently discussed in our former review : and the general truth of it as concerns the present period is sufficiently proved by the following synopsis. The New Criminal Procedure Code amalgamated 33 previous laws, some of Madras, some of Bombay, some of Bengal, and some of the Supreme Council, all of which it repealed. The Punjab Laws Act codified and repealed a vast mass of ill digested orders and circulars in the judicial department, some having the force of law and some having not ; the Punjab Land Revenue Act performed the same kindly function in the revenue department ; the Customs Act VIII. of 1875 codified and repealed seven teen Acts and Bengal Regulations ; the Limitation Act swept away parts of six Acts of Parliament and 23 Acts of the Indian Legislature ; the Excise Act superseded the whole of five others ; the Registration Act repealed the whole of two Acts, parts of two others, and a mass of rules prevailing in Oudh and Burma ; and so on of many other laws which fixed together justly fitting, harmonious, and well-arranged bodies of law on particular subjects, and gave to the Indian Empire united coherent codices in lieu of masses of fragmentary, conflicting and obscure rulings or piecemeal enactments. But besides these there have been two or three laws whose object was only to act as besoms for sweeping away rubbish ; such are Act XXIX. of 1871, which consigned to limbo no less than 54 laws or parts of laws, and Acts XII. of 1873 and XVI. of 1874 which delivered us for ever from the almost incre-

dible number of 501 others, or parts of others passed for India, for Bengal, for Bombay, or for Madras, besides ten Acts of Parliament. For all this clearance the public is deeply indebted to Sir FitzJames Stephen and Sir A. Hobhouse, with their Secretaries, and to the diligent labours of Mr. F. R. Cockerell, Member of the Legislative Council. These Acts XII. of 1873 and XVI. of 1874 are each most fittingly styled "*par excellence*," the Repealing Act.

We have now taken a very cursory glance at the general scope of late legislation. There is a great deal more to be said as to certain classes of laws which may be conveniently grouped thus :

- I. Fiscal Laws.
- II. Laws for government of the so-called Non-regulation Provinces.
- III. Laws embodying abstract principles of justice.
- IV. Social Laws of universal application.
- V. Social Laws of limited application.

I. The fiscal laws are of two sorts, Imperial and Local. In one sense every fiscal law is imperial, as the Government of the imperial finances is pre-eminently a matter of imperial concern. But since the adoption of the decentralisation scheme which Sir John Strachey induced Lord Mayo to enforce, all financial matters have had a double face, one looking to the Empire, the other to some portion thereof. We will therefore consider the local taxation laws first. The Government of India has taken the whole income from land revenue, Stamps, Opium, Post-office, Telegraph and Customs, and has accepted the responsibility of the cost of the Army and Navy, those departments whose income it takes, and law and justice ; while to local Governments was given the income from excise, education, jails, registration, and some minor sources, and they were also credited with a fixed annual allotment from Imperial revenues, being told at the same time to bear the entire cost of those departments whose income they drew, besides dispensaries, lunatic asylums, and also of all public works of other than imperial obligation. Of course all local feeders to railways, and such works as are designed to promote internal traffic, fell thus to provincial Governments, to make and to keep up ; and it was clear, and indeed it was meant, that each such Government should levy its own taxes on its own domain ; and to the necessity thence arising we owe the three Acts of 1871, numbered XVII, XVIII and XX, authorising the levy of rates on land in Oudh, the North-West Provinces and the Punjab respectively ; while for Bengal, notwithstanding a violent and long-continued agitation raised by the zemindars, it was ruled by the Secretary of State that the saving clause of Lord Cornwallis' settlement

charter left a loophole whereby Government could enter into the landowner's till, and take as much money as it deemed right for local necessities. No zemindar has ventured to contest this decision in a court of law. It would have saved much ill-will and bombastic airing of grievances in the newspapers if that simple method of bringing the matter to an issue had been adopted by some of the malcontents. However, whether by means of old or of new legislation the fact remains, that in India now, each local Government has authority to levy rates on land to a limit laid down in each Act. It would be an interesting subject for the student of constitutional history to trace the gradual abandonment of the old maxim, hammered out by years of hard knocks under the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, that all taxation must be with the advice and consent of the King, Lords, and Commons. We regret that we have not the materials for such enquiry at hand, but this much is patent, that our ancestors in the tumult and worry of ship-money, voluntary loans, and such like exactions, stated their law too broadly. The multiplying exigencies of a developing society have compelled the Parliament in England to abdicate its functions of taxation in a large degree. Hence the uprising of county rates and parish rates of sorts and sizes to an alarming extent, over and above the imperial taxation, In the three Acts under discussion the principle on which that local taxation is based, has been more widely stretched than even in England, till every Indian Governor has become more autocratic than 10 years ago was thought possible. War may engulf the empire, but municipal improvements, the teaching of the young, the imprisonment of offenders, the treatment of the sick, will go on without crippled funds; and this disassociation of the domestic from the official element of our Indian subjects' life is an unquestionable gain. It is, however, open to grave doubt whether the imperial allotment towards the sustentation of provincial revenue can be maintained at its present low figure. The following remarks are taken from the Government review of the Punjab Administration Report of 1875-76, and may go towards showing that a revision of the sums granted is necessary: "It may fairly "be assumed that there is no province in which the system of "fixed assignments to meet the most important changes, and "those possessing the greatest power of growth, would be less "likely to be completely successful. The Punjab at the date of "that measure had been only 20 years annexed, and like all "countries suddenly placed under sure and equal laws after long "periods of confusion and strife, had made rapid advance in "wealth and prosperity; and population and cultivation had "increased at a faster ratio than perhaps in any other part of "India. What, in an older province, is included under the head

“ of Repairs, came in the Punjab under the heading of Construction. All the appliances of English civilisation, jails, court-houses, school buildings, roads, bridges, were wanting in 1850, and when the decentralisation resolution of 1870 was passed, the province was very far from having an adequate supply. The assignments of grants were originally insufficient for the wants of the province, putting their normal growth altogether on one side. The local taxation which became necessary in consequence has, the Lieutenant-Governor believes, been borne without much dissatisfaction or complaint, and chiefly for the reason that its expenditure, together with those local funds which are raised from the agricultural population such as the road and school cesses, is entrusted entirely to district committees which have been everywhere appointed, and which include all the native gentlemen of independence and position in the several districts. Then it is manifest that the sums which are raised under this Act (XX of 1870), which amount to 16 or 17 lakhs per annum, are an immense advantage to the district, and afford the means of much local improvement in the way of communications and education, yet they are not available to the Government while their application is so limited by the Act as to only partially relieve Government of charges, which might perhaps in equity be thrown upon local committees. They are, moreover, not sufficient to adequately supplement the Imperial assignments and to meet the numerous and ever-increasing wants of a province like the Punjab * * * * The principle of fixed assignments for growing charges, seems to the Lieutenant-Governor, one that cannot logically be maintained without some modification. It is to find a living body to a corpse, or to compel a man to remain in the clothes which only fitted him when a child.”

From this extract, it would appear that if the principle of the local taxation Acts is to bear the whole fruit expected from it, the present large sum of 16 or 17 lakhs raised in the poorest province of British India alone, must be further increased by fresh local taxation, and when that inevitable time shall come; we earnestly trust that the commercial classes may be made, by something like a shop-tax, directly to bear a part of the burdens now falling on agriculturists. It is all very well to say that it is not so, that though the producer pays the tax in the first instance, the consumer pays it eventually. That is a fallacy in India; for taxes being all paid in cash, and the producer having no cash, is obliged to borrow it from the consumer of his produce: often by hypothecation of that produce before it is in existence; and the tendency of our courts is so markedly in favour of the man who has money and against the man who has only crops, that in the long run, the former comes

into possession of the latter's land, as has been the case in instances too many to mention. Taxes of this sort will only then be paid by the commercial classes, when they themselves, by operation of our courts and of practically irredeemable mortgages, have also become the producing class, or rather owners of land; the instrument of production worked by an impoverished peasantry, who will be then in the position of the man who is unable to sink lower than he is, because his credit being at zero no one will lend him any more money.

In the second branch of fiscal laws enacted during the period under review are, first the Indian Coinage Act of 1871, and the sister Paper Currency Act of 1871 repealing its five predecessors. This last made the paper money of the empire universally convertible in practice and empowered the executive to issue notes of so low a denomination as five rupees. These changes had been long advocated by the press. Under these relaxations the paper money of the empire is in a healthy state, and Government credit is good; indeed, until the late political disturbances caused a slight decline (of a temporary nature, we may hope) it was excellent. These observations lead us on to the Income Tax Act of 1871. It came into the world like a sickly infant, branded with the sentence of its own death, carefully limited to last but a few months. All India rejoiced over its end, and consigned it to its peaceful tomb in the fusty volumes of obsolete law books. Why should we disgrace it now by disinterring its poor remains to trample on them? The next fiscal Act must be tenderly handled. It was passed on the 31st March 1871, and though it repealed eleven older ones, it had to be patched up on the same day by another short Act amending one of its predecessors which it had not repealed. It imposed on sea-borne goods duties which were taken, until the report of the Tariff Committee of last year ruined its fair fame, and it was discarded by the legislation on the same matter embodied in Act XVI of 1875,—the Tariff Act which led to Lord Northbrook's resignation, and to a series of telegrams from the Secretary of State which may have results as yet unforeseen. Lord Salisbury has conceded to the Indian Legislature the power enjoyed by the House of Commons—the origination and elaboration of money bills. But there the parallel ceases. The House of Peers, though possessing a constitutional right to overrule or modify such bills, has only exercised it once in the memory of men now living. But the Secretary for India desires that money bills of the Indian Council be submitted to him before they are passed; that he may exercise his discretion of veto on them while yet immature; and so save the Government of India from the mortification of defeat upon them after they have become law. It is hard to see why this principle, if good at all,

should not be good for every sort of bill ; and if good for India, should not also be good for England. But no one has ever suggested the notion that a Committee of the House of Commons should confer with the House of Lords prior to its own passing of a bill of any sort ; though such committees are very common to remove apparently insurmountable differences of opinion between the two Houses ; and we fail to see why the Secretary of State should now, for the first time, offer for our acceptance a new principle ; and why, if it is to be offered, it should not govern all projects of legislation rather than one particular class ?

We come now to that class of laws of the period under review, which is most interesting to the historian and general student, *i.e.*, the laws which have been passed for the government of the Non-Regulation Provinces. At the time when the Punjab was annexed, the mischief of a corrupt bar, and of a body of legislation founded upon the feudal system of Europe, or upon half-understood and half-known digests of Hindu or Moslem law had, in our older provinces, become very grave. What with the turmoil of incessant war, which prevented due incubation of legal measures, and the viciousness of prostituted civil courts, which had to carry out the indifferent laws then made, it was evident that neither the law nor the practice of Bengal and the North-Western Provinces could be introduced among races who would take the life of the ruler whom they despised or detested ; but would never submit to him or pander to his æsthetic tastes ; and if the new country was to be ruled at all, it must be ruled on a plan wholly diverse from that which had prevailed down country. Personal government was therefore to take the place of mechanical government by codes and regulations. Lord Dalhousie chose men who were not machines : entrusted them with vast power and gave them his confidence, and for a few years the system worked well enough. But it called for extreme care in the choice of its agents, and it ignored the fact that the best men can become gouty and effete, timid and vacillating ; and so it broke down ; and inasmuch as not every circular was wisely designed or coherently drawn, inasmuch as few executive officers who were also judges had time to annotate their books and keep up their knowledge of orders which were not seldom contradictory and usually diffuse, the Government in time found itself working a perplexed law with officers who were by no means all of the ideal type : confusion and weakness came in, and matters began to drift. Then came the Chief Court of the Punjab, and members of a Bar who all insisted on legal cases being decided by law, and who sought in vain to know what was law under the Indian Council's Act of 1861, and what was not. Too often when the law was found, and applied, it led to so violent an outburst of bloodshed, fanaticism, or miscarriage

of justice that codification became imperative. To illustrate this : local law had always punished the adulteress as well as the adulterer, but the Penal Code forbade this ; and widespread murder followed, particularly amongst the Belooch and Pathan tribes. Opposition to cow-killing was one of the main stand-points of the Sikh Government, and one of Lord Dalhousie's words was that he would rather give up the Punjab than forbid the slaughter of kine for beef ; but the law on this point was only contained in a Government circular. Tracking was as well understood and acted upon in the Punjab as it is now in Australia, but there was no provision for punishing a village into which scores of cattle might be tracked, and unless the actual offenders were caught, justice was openly derided. To lay down rules on all these and many kindred points had been easy for the rough procedure of early days, but the judgments of the courts which were founded on them could not stand the scrutiny of lawyers, or be any way accommodated to codes, whose excellence was admitted, but which had not any provisions for these matters. To the end of remedying these evils, the Government made a strong effort, and in Act XXXIII of 1871, it passed an Act of 66 sections only, embodying a large mass of substantive law in the revenue department. But inasmuch as the varying necessities of society made it advisable to give the local authorities wider powers than could be minutely described in a crystallized law, many of these sections granted a license to the Local Governor to frame rules thereunder, subject to the approval of the Viceroy, which in practice quickly became more copious than the Act, and have provided for almost every detail of the contingencies which arise in a rapidly developing society. Similarly : Act IV of 1872 dealt with such subjects as pre-emption, the predominance of local or tribal custom over Moslem or Hindu law, the track law, slaughter of kine, bands of armed vagrants, insolvency, &c. ; reserving power to the local Government to elaborate by supplementary rules the laws whose leading principles were then sanctioned by the Supreme Legislature : and the smooth and admirable working of this expedient has shown what an excellent compromise has been thus effected between two systems, whose disharmony at one time was painfully embarrassing. But the most radical change in principle has required the intervention of Parliament, which has conferred very wide powers on all who govern India by section 1 of the Act, Chapter III, of 33 Vict. This law enables the Secretary of State to declare to what portions of India it shall be applicable : and he has made it to apply to parts of the Punjab and British Burma, to Sindh, and Assam, to the Andaman Islands, to the Non Regulation portion of Bengal, as well as to Ajmir, Arakan,

&c. This preliminary enables the Governor-General to sanction in his executive capacity, by way of ordinance, without debates or consideration in the Legislative Council, any draft regulation submitted for his approval by the Local Government, and the discretion has been widely used, and is continually used even yet, when one might think the initial urgency of the call for its promulgation had passed away. Under this enactment the Government of India gave to the Hazara district a Tenancy Regulation superseding the Punjab Tenancy Act, and a limitation law all to itself to the Peshawur Division, which has however now been abrogated. Under it the woman can be punished for adultery all down the Punjab frontier, and though oddly enough she cannot be punished for abetting her own abduction, yet the police can arrest without warrant any man who is complained against as being likely to abduct a married woman. Under this law, too, no new villages may be built within five miles of the same border in British territory without special permission; no man may pasture cattle without an armed guard in certain parts of Bannu and Kohat, nor take measures to release a convict from the Andamans. The same law has enabled the Government to make rules for forests in Hazara, Ajmir and Burma, for Civil and Criminal Procedure in Arakan, for prisons in Assam, for sundry matters affecting the welfare of Talukadars in Ajmir, for settling the wild tracts of Santhalistan, for giving judicial authority to the uncouth but autocratic chieftain of Spiti, and for other purposes which need not be detailed. It is one of the most royal, (or shall we say imperial?) measures of British rule in Asia. But it would not be complete without the twin Acts of 1874, numbered XIV and XV, and named the Scheduled Districts Act, and Laws Local Extent Act. By the former a large number of enactments are expressly declared not to be in force in districts which by reason of the backwardness and rudeness of the population may be considered unfit for the strictness of civilized law on minor points. The Viceroy is empowered to say what are such districts and he has already so named the whole North-Western and Western frontier: all the Chief Commissionerships except Oudh, Burma, and parts of the Central Provinces; certain hill districts in the N.-W. P., Bengal and Burma; besides the Laccadive and Andaman islands and minor portions of the territories under the governments of Bombay and Madras. Then the Laws Local Extent Act removes all doubt as to the sphere wherein certain other enactments operate whose scope was formerly doubtful: and for the time to come those who are entrusted with the duty of drafting new Acts always take care to specify in what parts of the heterogeneous empire which Englishmen govern in India,

such Acts are to be appealed to as law. Acts XIV and XV of 1874 cleared up the obscurities of the past, and ordinary care obviates fresh difficulties for the future ; while under the Act of Parliament just quoted, and this Scheduled Districts Act, the Viceroy with his Executive Council and the Local Governments are the sole legislators for all backward and semicivilized regions. This is as it should be. We see at a glance that the variety and territorial extent of these measures attests the need of the strong arm of Government and goes far towards showing that an uniform and centralised Government is only suitable for races in which all discordant elements have been fused by centuries of union into homogeneity. The time is very far distant when the Sonthal and the Gond can be governed in the same way—aboriginal though they both be—or even when Pathans of the same root and stem can be treated alike, for the interposition of 300 yards of the water of the Indus has now sundered them into various wholly dissimilar branches. The experience, whose expression is found in the Chap. III. of 33 Vict., has been dearly bought, and has finally won a signal victory over doctrinaires whose sphere of vision went no further than the Channel Islands. One morsel of history is covered up in Section 39 of the Punjab Laws Act. Till the year 1860, the criminal law of the Punjab was mostly contained in that bulky digest of the Bengal Regulations which was compiled by Mr. Beaufort, who only the other day retired from the appointment of Judge of the 24-Purgunnahs. But in the last-named year the present permanent incumbent of the Foreign Secretaryship, being Assistant to the Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab, drew up a new code which was put in practice and endured till 1862. At that time all else of criminal law was swept off by the Penal Code, but the old regulation remained good in our older province for all crime committed prior to 1st January 1861. And thus it came to pass that the man who was tried in 1872 for murders at Delhi in 1857 was tried under the old Bengal Regulations. This trial brought to prominent notice the fact that the Punjab had had three criminal codes, diverse and distinct, in as many years ; and whereas the two which had prevailed in other parts of India were confusing enough, it was enacted that Aitchison's synopsis, as it was called, should be retrospectively repealed, and that all offences committed prior to 1st January 1862 in territory which was at the time under the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab should be henceforth referred only to the Penal Code of India. This synopsis is not mentioned in section 39, but comes under the general repealing clause at the end of Act IV of 1872. While we write we perceive that the Legislative Council is busy on local land revenue and Local Laws Act for Oudh to which, no doubt,

mutatis mutandis, our remarks concerning the Punjab Laws may be applied. The administration report of the Punjab already quoted, remarks on this matter thus: "The principle of laying down in an Act the general outlines of a measure, leaving local Governments and Administrators to fill in the details by rules drafted by themselves, but approved by the Government of India * * * * combines the action of the best legal knowledge and skill with the fullest results of local experience and permits the observance of the infinite local peculiarities of a great Empire to be associated with the assertion of juridical principles."

We enter now on the third branch of our Review—the Laws embodying abstract principles of justice. The first in order is the Limitation Act, IX. of 1871. Its principal recommendation is its symmetry, and the simplicity as well as clearness of its arrangement. Wiping out the old undigested masses of rulings, wherein things like were dis severed, and things unlike were put check-by-jowl together, wherein you never could find what you wanted and found much that was noxious, we have now all the leading principles of law on the matter of limitation conveniently arranged in 29 sections, treating of the various forms of legal disability, the methods of computing limitation in various stated conditions, and the acquisition of ownership by long possession of easements; while the various different causes of action which can arise are set out in a succinct table, showing opposite each, class of case, what is the period within which one may sue for the redress of a grievance under it; and also from what event appertaining to each, the period is to be reckoned. There are probably few laws so simple, and yet so full. The Evidence Act is by no means equally clear. It is an attempt to reduce to a number of abstract propositions the main principles of a branch of law which is a study in itself; and the result is that, in our judgment, the condensation has been too great. Although this might have been relieved by a wealth of illustration, in its present state the law is too bald and dry for any but highly-trained, and logical and receptive intellects to apprehend. The bulk of our native judges give it up in despair, and we have a shrewd suspicion that you might tell on your fingers the number of judicial authorities in each province who have thoroughly understood, or are able to remember, the nice distinctions as to relevant facts, burden of proof, and such like recondite affairs which it professes to explain. It should always be remembered that any highly philosophical law like this, is, like pure mathematics, *per se*, distasteful to most men, and until the practical application of each section is lucidly set forth in illustrations whose use was first manifested in the Penal Code, it is not every mind which can admire it, or understand it, or

consequently remember it, still less apply it. Moreover, that which is hard and severe in English is doubly severe in a foreign dress; and since a large proportion of our judges know only some Indian vernacular or classical tongue, their difficulties in dealing with the Evidence Act are real and great. It is true that many of them only require very simple rules for the decision of simple cases, but yet in measure, as is their capacity such is their work, and the rules as they stand being beyond their capacity, it is evident that their work cannot be what it ought to be.

It is only to the shell of this excellent law that we take exception. The marrow and kernel is sound, wholesome, meat for those who can take it. But it is certainly strong meat. The Contract Act, which is the third of the purely abstract laws we discuss, is a comprehensive body of law on every form of contract known to civilized states and communities. Here again the illustrations might well have been simpler, and drawn more from the daily life of the country folk; the many illustrations taken from shipping contracts in various forms, are Greek to 99 per cent. of the population, and unfamiliar to the large majority both of judges and lawyers, while those which treat of theatrical contracts are singularly misplaced in a country where every native actress is a courtesan, and every native actor a pimp. However, these blots are inseparable from the birth-place of the Act, the study table of an English lawyer, and we admit that the large majority of illustrations are well chosen and clear. The body of the Act too is well arranged; its sections are all brief, and its subject-matter relates to topics of more or less concernment to everybody, and can be therefore easily understood. An admitted defect in it is, that it contains no law of specific performance; but this has been since cured by the enactment of a separate law on the subject. The Contract Act, like the Penal Code, was the result of many years of labour by many men both in England and India; and the outcome is, on the whole, certainly matter of sincere gratulation to all who drew it, and who have to work it. Some few sections appear superfluous, as for instance 142-43, which are but illustrations to section 14; but on the whole, considering the extent of legal territory covered, and the distinctness of the manner in which the various propositions are affirmed and illustrated, it must be pronounced to be a valuable and complete Act, for even the specific performance law was purposely left out of it for reasons of due weight, although some authorities advocated its insertion in the same Act. The Oaths Act X. of 1873 finds place for comment here. Its general object was to simplify some oaths and abolish others. It is now no longer necessary for judicial officers to be sworn in for the due performance of their duties. The old three-foolscap pages of oaths for a Justice of the Peace are abolished. The

Legislature has wisely held that a man who would not deal justly and truly without being sworn to it, would not be bound by the sanctions of an oath. And the Act restores the nearest approach to trial by wager which modern civilisation permits; for it enacts a provision which some High Courts had pronounced to be illegal, under which when one party to an action consents to be bound by the oath on a certain formula accepted by the other party, the suit shall be decided according to such oath, and such decision shall not be open to appeal, provided that such oath shall not be scandalous or indecent, nor purport to affect any third party. It is therefore left to decide finally that A does not owe B any money when they both agree that it shall be thus decided if A swears to that effect on the Koran or Ganges' water. But not so, if the oath is to be on A's child, as in such case it purports that A's child shall become the object of the Divine displeasure. In England all forms of trial by wager have been done away with since the beginning of this century, when Mary Ashford drowned herself in a pit, and her seducer was tried for it and acquitted, but was afterwards obliged to prove his innocence by fighting her brother under order of a court of justice. That case exhibited the folly of trial by wager or ordeal. It was the last relic of a barbarous and cruel expedient for discovering the truth when no one would tell it, and as the last memento of witch-floating, and other kindred horrors. Section 8 of the Indian Act X. of 1873 is thus possessed of a peculiar romance of its own.

There are two Acts of a purely political aspect which we now bracket together as indicating our Imperial Sovereignty. Act XI. of 1872 concerning extradition of criminals between our Government and the scores of kings and princelings who fringe our territory all round or reside in patches of country within the general limits of British India, and Act V. of 1874, under which the Viceroy is authorised to prohibit any foreign state from enlisting recruits for its army within British India. The need of both these laws is patent, and it is curious that their need should never have arisen before. Till this Act, the clearest law of extradition was in some rules contained in a despatch, No. 3, which the Court of Directors sent on 1st June 1836 to the Government of Madras; and another set devised by Lord Lawrence in the early days of our rule in the Punjab, appertaining primarily to Cashmere. There is an apparent want of reciprocity in the provision that, while criminals of foreign territory committing certain specified crimes in British territory and escaping back to their own land must always be given up to British courts when demanded, it is not so with criminals of British territory who return into it after committing any of those crimes in foreign territory. They must be tried in British courts. The Court of

Directors explain this as "justifiable not less as a proper prerogative of the paramount power, than on the ground of the inequality in the state of civilisation, and jurisprudence under the British Government and that of Native States." The same sentiment is expressed in more racy phrase by the vigorous Chief Commissioner of the Punjab in a running comment which he appended to the rules abovementioned as devised by him. It was appropriate when a Company of Merchants was the paramount power, much more is it so when the paramount power is an Empress.

Proceeding with our subject we come to those laws of the period, appertaining to matters which we have denominated social. It is not a very clear definition, but for want of a better we adopt this term to indicate those laws which are purely Anglo-Indian in their complexion, which spring from a state of society created wholly or partially by English government supervening on Indian society. The most startling innovations of this kind belong to a bye-gone age; the abolition of *satti*, the legalization of widow-marriage, the prohibition of infanticide and enactment of a special law against it, all come into a historical era with which we have no concern when considering legislation subsequent to 1870. But this same epoch has not been wholly unmarked by legislation of this kind, and in point of interest in it are those social laws which are of universal moment. The order we have followed throughout this paper is chronological, and by its guidance we turn first to the Registration Act of 1871. It massacres only five innocents and amputates a limb of a sixth, in its first schedule; but then it embalms their memory by recording as in a *monumentum are perennius* all their virtues, and hiding all their faults in strictly correct and charitable fashion. Do we offend against politeness by raking up from the ashes of the dead one odious feature, and contemplating its ugliness, ere forgetting it for ever? Even if so, we cannot but express sincere pleasure in noting the disappearance of sections 53-54 of Act XX. of 1866 from Act VIII. of 1871. These were the sections authorising what was termed special registration; whereby after a simple payment of double fees, and a friendly wink of the eye between the money-lender and the sub-registrar, the latter "specially registered" a document, and the former then had power to take out execution on it within one year of the time fixed for payment, as of an unsatisfied decree. These provisions were an unnecessary novelty, sadly unsuited to Indian society, where the problem is not, as in England, to save the moneyed-man from sharpers, but where the sharper is always the money-lender and his victim is his client. It is the same in half the things we have done in India. We have the best intentions conceivable, but we

forget that we must begin by looking at everything upside down. A Native shows you his respect by pulling off his shoes, an Englishman by pulling off his hat; a Native by touching the morsel he wants to give you first with his own fingers, an Englishman by only touching it with a fork; a Native puts down his umbrella when he comes home on its handle, because he uses it as a parasol, an Englishman puts it on its point, because it is to him a *parapluie* and he must drain off its wet. And so on all round—when shall we learn it? However, special registration is gone—may its ogre-like voracity be known no more! It is curious to contemplate the debates which went on last hot season in Olympus, over the amendments which have since been passed as a new Act in the matter of compulsory registration of documents respecting real property of a value less than Rs. 100. Our own opinion is in favour of such registration as unquestionably tending to defeat fraud by publicity, though it might not be necessary to lower the limit to zero, and it might stand at 50 as a compromise between the old system and one which would be unnecessarily harassing those whose transactions, measured even in silver at its present value, are small. The Pensions' Act of 1871 merely regulates that which the giver of pensions has an indefeasible right to direct: the state has herein laid down one rule, however, which materially touches the general public by forbidding any court to attach any pension yet unpaid to the pensioner. This exception to the general rule of procedure whereby debts due from A to B may be attached by C if he has a decree against B, was caused by the inconveniences of the credit which deposed princelings formerly enjoyed; and the cost to Government which their lavishness usually threw on it sooner or later. Have we forgotten the debts of the King of Oudh, the Nawabs of Arcot, the son of Tippoo, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal? Certainly not. The second and fourth of these are now disfranchised, for Acts XVII. of 1873 and XX. of 1873 have taken from them for ever the power of incurring debt, and recent disclosures in the *Gazette of India* have shown that it was high time. The Member of Parliament to whom £2,000 was lent by the Nawab Nazim, which was not his own to lend, and who has unluckily till now forgotten to repay it, has had something to explain. If our indulgence to these princelings was so abused, surely it was time for it to cease. On this same principle it is enacted by the Pensions' Act that no pension is to be attached. As the pensioner's credit is hereby destroyed no one will henceforth lend him money, and his follies must stop short at a point before that when they become embarrassing to Government. The two next Acts of this year, XXIII. and XXIV., deal with the matter of Government loans to municipalities and agriculturists, and the

principle already discussed as to the Punjab Land Revenue Act of giving Government authority to make rules supplementary to the Act, is here also enforced. The former Act is useful and workable as it stands, but the latter is rendered largely inoperative by the enforcement of interest (in those parts of the Empire where it is enforced.) An agriculturist will either pay interest to a money lender whom he can always persuade into extending the term for repayment of the principal, or he will borrow without interest from Government, though he knows he must pay his instalments up to date. But where the rigor of punctual payment is made to co-exist with the demand for interest even at 6 per cent., the risk of bankruptcy is too great: loans are taken to a very limited extent, and the flourish of trumpets with which Lord Mayo's Government inaugurated the change from Takkavi Advances to Land Improvement Loans, dies away on the ear in the moans of a disappointed nation, who think that the old was better by far than the new, albeit the latter is couched in legal phrase and honored by being bound up in the statute book. Nearly akin to this is the North India Canals and Drainage Act of 1873. We all recollect that when this measure was first proposed and passed, it contained some clauses compelling those persons to pay canal advantage rates near to whom a canal ran, even if from choice or poverty they did not take the water. The press with almost one voice denounced this iniquity, but it was not till the Secretary of State vetoed the whole bill that these clauses were struck out. The writer enjoyed the privilege of seeing an early Minute on this Act by one of the members of the Indian Council in England; and though confidence forbids the mention of his name, it may be noted that the arguments against it fiscally, politically and socially were quite unanswerable, and resulted in North India escaping from a grave wrong. This same year saw a revision of the North-West Provinces' Rent Act, under the number of XVIII. of 1873, and its twin the North-West Provinces' Land Revenue Act XIX. of 1873. It has been often remarked how indissolubly in India revenue and rent are connected, and how when Government modifies the former, the latter is, *ipso facto*, modified along with it: for it is evident that if x means the net produce, y the Government share and z the landlord's share, then the mere alteration of y into $y+5$ does not raise x into $x+5$, but simply diminishes z to $z-5$. The two matters being so inseparably combined, whenever Government legislates for its own share, or, indeed, whenever it touches land revenue at all, it finds its hand in a hornet's nest, from which a mass of fresh legislation alone can free it. Act X. of 1859 broke down from a variety of causes which need not be commented upon; and so a new Land Revenue Act and also a new Rent Act became neces-

sary, fixing constitutions of courts, and their powers; the rules concerning tenancy, ejectment, improvements, and the multifarious varieties which Protean transformations of tenures superior, inferior, proprietary, *talukdari*, and what not, drew in their train.

Turning to another and totally alien subject connected with general social laws, we come to those regulating the sadly perplexing subject of European vagrants, which has now, alas, become further complicated by the Poor White question. The first Act on this subject was passed in 1869, when it had become clear that the English or European loafer, whether discharged seaman, soldier, mechanic, or horse-keeper from Australasia, was dangerous to individuals, to himself, and to the good fame and name of English rule in India. It was needful to give power to every magistrate, whether a justice of the peace or not, to arrest and hold certain judicial enquiries on any such persons found strolling in the interior: it was found necessary to establish work-houses for such men and to devise schemes for deporting them by sea. This law was amended by Act XXVIII. of 1871, and in 1874, by Act IX of that year. The former Acts were again much amended and enlarged; but the subject is so complex that even this law is not sufficiently stringent or elastic, and an amendment of it is now on the legislative anvil. Other genera of the wild beast "*homo*" are to be cribb'd, cabined, caged, confined, by the Criminal Tribes Act. By a peculiar irony of history, this stood in the 1871 state book as the twin-brother of the last, and next to it. Was it meant to put the reclaimed Australian convict in a cask with the *thug*? the dissolute platelayer with the Boureeah thief? Now, when once any of those unfortunate tribes or fraternities whom the rampant ostracism of caste, and the black brand of birth, doom to live by preying on their neighbours or pandering to their vices, are laid under the ban of this Act, no Romish interdict is so severe. Each man, woman and child is counted, and enrolled, must live where he is bid, and find a livelihood in the precise manner prescribed by the magistrate. The conflicting necessities of settled government on the one side, and hereditary license on the other, have now clashed. The only way of escape from a dilemma which has puzzled every administrator for the last century, has been found at last in the pages of this stern enactment. It throws on the State the grave responsibility of providing work and suitable residences for considerable bodies of people; and care must be taken that they are not so herded as to engender pestilence, for this has happened years ago in the writer's own experience of a modified and irregular form of such working. But patience and zeal may be trusted to evolve a happy solution of a problem which in its every-day details may sometimes be perplexing enough. In its character

of a bouleversement of conditions tolerated, if not sanctioned by usage, this law takes rank with the orders concerning *Satti* and child-killing. While they dealt proximately with the preservation of life, this deals mainly with the protection of property : but inasmuch as the persons affected are ignoble and out-casts, the undercurrents of Native society have flowed peacefully by : and we have from the Native press had little opposition to a change which in principle differs in no way from that which inspired those other laws which were fiercely opposed.

The last of the social Acts of this year of legislative activity is the Weights and Measures Act of 1871, which was passed by the Governor-General on 30th October of that year. Its history is peculiar : but as we fully discussed it before—when it was still inchoate we refrain from flogging a dead horse now. Proceeding to 1872 we find a new marriage law formulated in Act III. of that year to meet the necessities of those unhappy persons whose creed is the negation of all creeds—some of whom call themselves Brahmos—some Comtists—and so on. They have their marriage-law now, we trust it may operate to hold together such members of society as are obliged to allow that even negation must have a limit, unless chaos is to be renewed, and that there are matters which the law of man must perforce take cognizance of. The Christian marriage-law was also re-enacted and cleared from doubts by Act XV. of this year—while an Act of 1876 numbered V. enabled Government to prevent juvenile delinquency by the Establishment of Reformatory Schools ; the vexed question of legal majority having been set at rest the year before by Act IX. of 1875, and that of married-women's earnings being protected from violent and dissolute husbands by one of the previous year known as III. of 1874. These with some of minor value concerning the Administrator General's Office, and such like, exhaust our list of social Acts of the period under review.

From social Acts of universal enforcement let us turn to those of limited object and scope. The Emigration Act repealing five former laws on the same subject has placed on a footing as satisfactory as the nature of the case permitted, a practise which was rapidly degenerating into little better than slave hunting. The Protector of Emigrants at every port in British India whence emigrants depart, now has full authority to prevent abuse, and every needful regulation as to medical attendance, contracts of service remaining optional, inspection of emigrants, &c., &c., is duly enforced, while legal authority is given to a convention between the Queen and the Emperor Napoleon III. preventing abuses arising out of the system in all French colonies. The necessity for this arose out of the orders given by the Emperor prohibiting the importation of Africans into any French Colony : and the Act

therefore has a special interest just now that slavery and the treatment by British Naval officers of escaped slaves have been of late so much before our eyes. Other laws of this period are those which lend succour to various chieftains or landholders by establishing special authority for treating them as insolvents. The wasteful talukdars of Oudh and the impoverished Thakurs of Broach; besides the Princes of Arcot and of Bengal already mentioned, have come under the fostering care of enactments which render them incapable of further encumbering their estates, and justify the Government in taking those estates under official care, and even in some cases, of borrowing money wherewith to pay off older debts.

We have written more than it was in our design to write, but in truth the vastness of the subject must be our excuse. We seem to be like a man in a balloon who sailing over seas and islands, towns and villages, can mark no more than general features with a glimpse of detail here and there. Such a birdseye view we have tried to take and record, and in conclusion only add by way of synopsis that codification has superseded innovation; that useless and obsolete laws have been swept into the "oubliette" of time by the hundred; that every one may now see immediately what laws govern Santhalistan, or Edwardesabad, Bombay or Lahore; that the plan of enacting laws to be worked by supplementary rules has proved eminently successful and capable of wide expansion; that a body of substantive law on contract, evidence, inheritance, marriage, minority, and so forth has been given us; that procedure has been simplified and yet more exhaustively treated; last, not least, that where custom, as in many parts of the Punjab, rises above law, the courts are bound to decide by the *lex loci* or custom in lieu of applying recondite Sanskrit or Arabic texts, which have in truth no more interest or value to the people than Magna Charta has to the Tasmanian, or the Statute of Frauds to a Californian gold-digger. The idiosyncrasies of peoples, diverse as Spaniards and Shetlanders, have been consulted. Where adultery leads universally to bloodshed, unless both guilty parties be punished, women may be imprisoned, for it as well as their seducers: where all religious forms of marriage are distasteful, there is a law dispensing with them and yet knitting together society by firm laws of wedlock; and so on in a variety of instances tedious to enumerate, yet each worthy of study by the historian, the ethnologist, the lawyer, or the politician. We have purposely disregarded several laws whose elaboration and enactment has caused many a weary hour of labour to scores of men. But our difficulty has been to select, not to expand; and while trying to miss nothing of very wide and imperial concernment, to refrain from padding on a subject whose ramifications are endless, and whose instructiveness is inexhaustible.

H. E. PERKINS.

ART. VII.—THE RENT QUESTION.

A REPLY TO SIR HENRY RICKETTS' LETTER. BY A ZEMINDAR.

THE arguments brought forward by Sir Henry Ricketts in answer to my article on the Rent Question in Bengal, published in the *Calcutta Review* for July last, may be thus summarised :—

I. The number of occupancy rayats "is in all probability very much where it was" when Act X of 1859 was passed, "neither increased, nor diminished;" there is no reason therefore to apprehend (as I do) that they will become extinct in consequence of a distinction in rent-rates between them and the non-occupancy rayats.

II. It is almost impossible "to determine what in all cases would be a fair proportion of the produce to be paid as rent for land," "the insuperable difficulty" being "the variety of the circumstances of cultivation,—a difficulty that no legislation can meet."

III. Therefore it is best to keep to a distinction in rent-rates between occupancy and non-occupancy rayats, to let the rents of the latter be adjusted by supply and demand, and to allow the occupancy rayats a percentage upon the competitive rates thus determined.

1. In reply, I freely endorse the opinion cited from Mr. Dampier's report and fully believe that at present, the number of occupancy rayats has actually increased rather than diminished. This, however, I am inclined to think, is entirely due to a temporary cause. The people have not yet perceived nor asserted the full extent of their legal rights. The distinction as to rent-rates between the two classes of rayats, first recognised in the ruling of the Calcutta High Court in the case of Thakurani Dasi, and since sought to be legalised by more definite enactment, is not yet widely known,—much less acted upon; and the rayats not having asserted their legal rights, the zemindars have not felt the necessity of examining and enforcing their own. Such a state of things, however, cannot last long; sooner or later the zemindars will realise the facts, that non-occupancy rayats when left to themselves grow into occupancy rayats and become entitled to privileged rents which seriously affect the zemindars' income, and that by a simple measure they can prevent the evil. The moment the zemindars duly appreciate these facts, they will bestir themselves and bind all their non-occupancy rayats to the condition that length of occupation will not entitle them to the privileged rents. The growth of the occupancy class being thus put an end to, their final extinction will obviously be only a question of time, under the

disintegrating effects of two privileges enjoyed by zemindars, *viz.*, the right to evict an occupancy tenant for default in the payment of rents and the right to veto transfers of occupancy-tenures.

II. 1. Division of produce for an equitable assessment of rents is not so impracticable as Sir Henry maintains, but is on the contrary a principle very commonly observed in practice. This is evident from the prevalence of the Metayer rents in all parts of the world, of the *ooshur* in Mahomedan countries, and of the tithes among the Christians. The universality of the practice is a guarantee that the principle is tolerably equitable.

2. The proper way to view the question is to split it into two parts. (*a*) We have to prescribe a convenient and tolerably-equitable rule for assessment of rent-rates, as between zemindars and rayats; (*b*) we have to adopt some measure to remove the nicer inequalities in the rent-charge as between the rayats themselves. The principle of division is excellently adapted to attain the first-named object; and it has to be supplemented by another provision (included among my suggestions) to meet the other exigency, *viz.*, the grant of a right to the rayats to make transfers of their tenures. If the rent of any plot of land, assessed upon the principle of division, be comparatively lighter than that of another, by reason of any difference in the peculiar circumstances of cultivation, then, with such a right of transfer, the exchange-value of the one will be proportionately higher than that of the other. By this means, the annual profits, or more accurately, periodical advantages of every possible description, will be fairly and equably capitalized; and after the tenures have been once bought and sold, all tenants will be equally well off, considering the prices they will have paid, no matter how high or how low their respective rents might be. Such has actually been the case with the permanently-settled lands, of which the revenue-assessment was notoriously unequal. An equalization like this, will be in accordance with the same law of supply and demand that Sir Henry so powerfully advocates, but which I would see applied in a different manner.

3. The real objection, however, to the metayer system is that there might be lands of which the cost of cultivation would exceed in value the share allotted to the cultivator; and for this ample provision was made in my scheme.

4. A free right to sell their tenures is, however, too valuable a concession for the zemindars to make to the rayats; and hence a rule of pre-emption was further proposed by me, by way of compensation. I am aware that in some places a custom is said to have grown up, depriving the zemindar of his veto, and making transfers of tenures valid, independently of his sanction. It is still, however, an open question whether such a custom can be pleaded at all against

the zemindar's right. It cannot be denied that the zemindar had originally this right to veto everywhere : the law clearly recognizes it ; and where the custom adverted to is pleaded, the acceptance of rent from the vendee, may be said to amount to a voluntary withdrawal of the veto by the zemindar. The question would probably be, not one of a special local custom within a definite area, but whether in a particular case, a rayat has acquired the right of transfer according to the doctrine of prescription. To this end the right would probably have to be shown to be exercised by the rayat adversely to the zemindar, in spite of his veto, for a sufficiently long period of time and without interruption. At all events, such exceptional circumstances cannot affect the general fact that the zemindars are in enjoyment of a valuable right. (The value of the right would be measured as the case might be, either by the difference between occupancy and non-occupancy rates of rent or by the rayat's interest in the annual produce of land under the rule of division). As a compensation to this right, the rule of pre-emption was proposed in favor of the zemindar. We have thus to take into account three things each closely bearing upon the rest : (1) a rule of proportion according to the metayer system, (2) the right of transfer of cultivator's tenures by sale, &c., to supplement the above, and (3) a rule of pre-emption by way of compensation for the right of transfer.

5. Apart, however, from the respective merits of the two modes of assessing rents—by division of the produce and by open competition—there are good grounds why the rule of division and that rule alone ought to be adopted. The Permanent Settlement distinctly lays down that the zemindar is entitled only to the difference between a certain proportion of the produce of every *bigha* of land demandable by sovereign power according to the custom of the country and the amount payable into the public treasury. (Regulations XIX, XXXVII and XLIV of 1793, Preambles). In other words it recognises the right of the cultivator to the remaining *proportion* of the produce. My article was intended chiefly to show the universality of the custom alluded to, in the shape of the metayer system, and the evolution of *all* the existing modes of assessing rents from that system from a date long anterior to the Permanent Settlement. Whether therefore we take into account the provision of the law or the pre-existing right in the cultivator, of which he cannot be said to have been deprived, the recognition of the principle of division is simply unavoidable.

6. The amount of the proportion is quite a separate question ; and if stress is laid upon my inability to pronounce upon this point, it cannot be denied that some important data in regard to it, are well-known to the public, *viz.*, that the revenue-charge was assessed by Akbar at one-third of the average produce and that

the rule of division in respect of Bhag-rents is at present, half and half. It may be a question whether Akbar's assessment did not also restrict the *rent*-charge to one-third ; but inasmuch as Akbar's assessment has never been interrupted nor the share prescribed by him ever reduced, the zemindars may with cogency of argument claim at the least one-third of the produce. I might add that according to some public papers to which attention has been recently called,* Sir Henry Ricketts himself once not only advocated the rule of proportion but proposed so much as two-fifths of the gross produce for the zemindar's share.

However, to define the exact amount of the share or according to my scheme, the several shares, it will, in my humble opinion, be necessary to institute a systematic investigation like that made by Akbar ; and this in part has become feasible, now that the Government is in possession of ample returns under the Road Cess Act, which would show the prevailing rents all over the country.†

III. Sir Henry recommends the appointment of umpires in order to assess a suitable rent, reference being had to the existing supply and demand. He appears to be at the same time in favor of allowing to the occupancy rayats a percentage over the rate paid by the tenant-at-will. I presume that a competition or economic rent is intended to be first assessed and then a percentage is proposed to be deducted from the amount so assessed in the case

* See the Hindu Patriot, dated 16th April 1877, and letter addressed by the British Indian Association to the Government of Bengal, under date the 15th December 1876.

† How lands ought to be compared for the purpose of assessing rents is a question which does not seem to have received all the attention that it deserves. Sir Henry has asked derisively, "could the legislature . . . rule . . . that the rent demandable should be determined by the depth of water found" on the land? Some people *do* in fact classify lands as high or low ; others according to the staple grown ; settlement officers have been known to classify as *Blum Dumat*, *Matiyar*, &c., much in the rough and ready way that one would classify soils into sandy, loamy or clayey, &c. ; and the Board of Revenue of the North-Western Provinces appears to have given these irregular methods, their utmost stretch, in the following rule :

" XIII. The classification of the selected areas and holding should be commenced by breaking them up into areas of such distinctive soils whether natural or artificial, as may be recognised by local custom." (*The Indian Agriculturist*, May 1, p. 130.)

But local custom will probably be here found to be incoherent and inadequate. I recommended a money-basis for the comparison, *viz.*, the ratio between the value of produce and the cost of cultivation of the lands to be compared. This principle not having been assailed I would not prolong my reply by dwelling upon it. I would only beg leave to urge that the three data, *viz.*, value of produce, cost of cultivation and existing rent-rates have first to be ascertained *roughly* for purposes of legislation, and that strict accuracy will not be required until the points come to be litigated upon, when too, the closest scrutiny will be practicable.

of occupancy tenures. Now, there are only three conceivable modes of determining rents such as these, *viz.*, 1st, by calculation upon the basis of political economy, 2nd, by comparison of the lands to be assessed with lands actually held under competition, or 3rd, by actual competition.

1. Calculation. We all know how Sir Barnes Peacock once attempted to realise the abstract definition of rent given by Malthus and how as Justice Norman observed "the system broke down by its own weight." The elements of competition do not admit of arithmetical calculation. Mr. Fawcett has rightly said that the theory of rent is not to be imagined as available to "a land steward" for fixing the rent of any particular land.* And the remarks of Mr. W. T. Thornton in a recent paper about competition-prices will apply with equal force upon competition-rents.

"What then" he asks "does regulate competition? My answer is simply, nothing. There is no regularity about competition at all. If it can properly be said to depend upon anything, it depends partly upon individual necessity, partly on individual discretion; and as for the first of these there is proverbially, and for the second manifestly, no law, so likewise is there no law of competition."†

2. Comparison. This method of assessing the rents will not stand the strict tests which Sir Henry applies to the Metayer system. If a competition-rent can be determined by umpires, from comparison with lands actually held under competition, it must be only in a loose manner; and if such laxity is permissible, all objections to the metayer system would fall to the ground, especially when the graduated scale of division recommended is taken into consideration. If we can say that land X ought to be assessed exactly as land A, B or C, we can assess the proportionate rents also, by classifying a number of typical lands A, B, C, &c, in a sufficiently exhaustive manner and fixing the respective proportions assignable to each. Nothing short of this was attempted in my scheme.

3. Actual competition. Strictly to follow out the reasoning of Sir Henry Ricketts to its ultimate consequences, all the cultivable lands in the country should be made over to non-occupancy rayats, holding at competition-rates of rent; and where there are any occupancy rayats, they should be allowed to appropriate a certain percentage upon the rents realised from the non-occupancy rayats, although they have not laid out any money (like the zemindars) in purchasing their rights and although they do not (like the cultivators) employ personal or hired labor for cultivating the land!

* Manual of Political economy, 3rd edition, p. 114. 1876. Art. "Professor Cairnes on value." p. 831.

† Contemporary Review, October

Upon the same principle it would be necessary to repeal clause 1 of Section 18 of the existing rent-law which was based upon Section 7 of Regulation V of 1812 and involves the long established principle of a uniform assessment of rent for all lands of the same class. The intimate connection of this principle with the rent system of this country was shown in my former contribution. The law of supply and demand would simply put an end to it.

Englishmen seem somehow or other to give precedence to the claim of the rayat as based upon the period of occupation, over his claim based upon the labor of cultivation. The claim founded upon length of occupation, is said to have been in supposed accordance with the doctrine of prescription. That doctrine, however, as clearly shown by Sir Barnes Peacock cannot apply in a case like the present; because the occupation in question is permissive and not adverse. Indeed this same principle, regarding permissive occupation, though virtually ignored in sec. 6 of Act X, has had to be upheld in the following section, which enables the zemindar to debar all non-occupancy rayats from the privileges of section 6, by express stipulation. The other claim, which seems to be more rational, would place all cultivators upon an equal footing and, indeed, entitle the non-occupancy cultivator to greater consideration than the non-cultivating occupancy rayat.

In conclusion, I shall say, a few words with reference to the passage in my article about Lord Cornwallis which has been so strongly animadverted upon by Sir Henry. I admit that the language used by me was harsh. Of the benefits conferred upon the zemindars and thence to a very large section of the community by Lord Cornwallis, there can be no question and no question was intended to be raised; in fact, praise from my pen was simply superfluous. But it does not follow that a misconception or haziness about the question of tenant-right could not have crept into Lord Cornwallis' mind. And what better proof of this could be found than the fact that with the same breath an absolute proprietary right in land, with definite rules for exchange of leases upon the principle of voluntary contract, was vested by him in the zemindars, and again that right was limited to no more than a certain proportion of the produce of land, while power was reserved to Government for assessing the amount of rent demandable by the zemindar notwithstanding their so-called absolute proprietary right? And as for the proportion itself, which is above alluded to, the present diversity of opinion, quite as much as the inconsistency noticed above, will amply show whether or no it was a mistake to recognise the principle and yet to leave it open to future discussion or to be ignored outright.

J. C. G.

ISLAM AS IT IS. (*Independent Section*).

By a European Haji.

I.—ITS SOCIAL ASPECT.

A subject which has been treated by English authors with such detail as that with which I am about to deal, requires that before entering upon it I should give my readers some intimation as to my reason for selecting a theme, which it might be thought had already been sufficiently dealt with in the many works, founded on personal experience of the practice of Mahomedanism, or on learned and labourious enquiries into its theories and history, compiled or written by men, who in many instances have been eminently fitted for the purpose they had in hand. But I claim to have viewed and studied Islam from a position which no other writer on the subject has adopted; a position, moreover, peculiarly adapted for the formation of an intimate and correct acquaintance with the subject, as it is exhibited in the daily life of Mahomedans. Having assumed the character of a convert to Islam for nearly two years, I mixed among Mahomedans not only of India, but also of Arabia, Persia, and other countries, as a Mahomedan, and in that character performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.* My assumed character afforded me many advantages, and facilitated the obtaining of opportunities that enabled me to pursue my study of Islam under the most favourable circumstances—other than the mere fact of my having been thrown into intimate intercourse with the “Faithful.”

Mahomedanism, like all other religious systems, admits of being regarded from many different points of view: thus we may consider it as a scheme for the moral or social protection and direction of its followers, or we may view it as a religious code, and enquire into the divinity of its origin. These are the two points from which Mahomedanism has hitherto been chiefly regarded by Christian writers, to the almost total exclusion of other and less important ones; and it is to the investigation of Islam as a social system, and its influence as such upon its followers, that I shall devote myself principally in these pages.

Probably the most philosophical manner with which I could treat my subject would be to begin at its source—the restless craving for something better—something higher and more spiritual than the puerile idolatry to which he had been trained up—that led Mahomed to retire from society to ponder on religion, and to com-

* I published an account of my the early part of 1876.
pilgrimage in the *Bombay Gazette* in

mune in the spirit with his God. This was the immediate cause whence has sprung forth the wonderful and extraordinary results, which form the history of the Mahomedan religion; and still show themselves in the influence, which a belief in the mission of the prophet exerts upon peoples so widely-separated, in almost all else, as those who collectively form the world of Islam. To treat the subject in this manner would, however, require a far more systematic and prolonged discussion than I am at present inclined to enter upon. Hence my determination to treat of Islam as it is—recognising the existence of facts as of more direct importance than an enquiry into their origin, or an endeavour to reconcile them to the theories on which they are presumed to have established themselves. I will not, however, fix for myself any especial limits, but diverge from a direct line whenever the occasion appears to require it, or such a course seems otherwise advisable.

The Mahomedan religion has been frequently described as one of “forms and ceremonies;” but nothing can be more erroneous than the idea thus conveyed. Islam, like Christianity, has forms and ceremonies, but it no more professes to make obedience to its written law, or the punctual observance of its prescribed ceremonials, a key wherewith to unlock the adamantine gates of paradise, than does the Christian religion profess to provide salvation through the medium of the two sacraments, Baptism and the partaking of the Lord’s Supper. And here we have the most remarkable feature which Islam as a social system presents, admitting its followers to a certain degree of laxity in the performance of their religious duties, by making those duties in no way capable of influencing their ultimate salvation and happiness. It takes away everything which can be considered in the light of an inducement to compliance with formal observances, the number, length and minute details of which form a considerable interruption to the business of the day; and yet we find among Mahomedans of every race, that the observance of these obligations are in eight cases out of ten, strictly attended to. Nor is this compliance with the rigorous demands of the ceremonial law, ever viewed as a possible passport to heaven by those who observe it. This is the feature, which of all others that Islam presents, seems to me infinitely the most remarkable. Among Mahomedans faith, and faith only, is recognised as the means of attaining eternal felicity. On the other hand if we turn to the most strictly evangelical School of Christianity, we find no such theory advanced. They indeed claim faith as the key of heaven, but they add that faith without works is as utterly ineffectual as works without faith. The Mahomedan who neglects good works is as certain of eventual happiness as he who performs

them, while he only who gives way to temptation and commits sin, is doomed to condign punishment.

Like the Christian religion, Islam admits of the fullest development of the individual characters of its followers. The "Pecksniff," the "Micawber," the "Wellers," and the innumerable other characters which Dickens has so inimitably drawn, may be found moving in every day Mahomedan society, as well as at home. True, as when we look through a coloured glass upon a landscape replete with varying tints, the entire scene assumes the hue of the medium through which we gaze; so in observing the varieties of shade which gives life and colour to Mahomedan life, we find its diversities universally tinged with the hue of orientalism. Nevertheless, in the former case, let us make the necessary allowance for the effects of the modifying medium, and we at once recognise the perfection of the landscape, and notwithstanding the uniformity of tint, discover beneath it that light and shade, and minute modulations of coloring, which is a type of nature's handiwork. And thus it is that beneath the outward uniformity of character which Islam has thrown over the daily life of its followers, the skilled analyst of human thoughts and feelings will find beneath the monotony of the prevailing tint, a rich and ever varying diversity of sentiment and character. Here is the error into which the Western observer generally falls when contemplating Mahomedanism: Islam, like a coloured atmosphere surrounds and envelops all that he sees, and in the very eagerness of his search he fails to penetrate the cloud, and thus receives the impression that all that his eye rests upon bears the same monotonous hue. Islam is as fixed and unalterable a law as were the decrees of the Medes and Persians of old supposed to be; but while from the strictness and minuteness of its injunctions, it maintains a certain uniformity of external or formal character among its followers, its theories leave the mind free to range at will and select its tenets from a field fully as diversified as the orthodox Protestant church affords. What in fact the iron rule of the Protector temporarily accomplished in England, what the senile cant of Louis the XIV. brought about for a time in Paris, is this what Islam has done permanently. No one will or indeed can deny, that on ninety per cent. of professing Christians, Christianity produces no external marks, no peculiarities of manner, custom, or habit of thought which can serve to identify them from infidels, atheists, theists, or what not, so far as their daily lives are concerned. The average Christian decides his daily actions not by the Bible code, but by the code of honour, and that intuitive sense of right and wrong which we term conscience; not so the Moslem. We speak of a man being conscientious, he speaks of his being obedient to the law—in another word, religious. Islam like Hindooism,

like Brahmoism, like Christianity, like all religious systems which have ever existed or ever will exist, has produced many hypocrites—religious pretenders who are outwardly scrupulous and finical about their “duty,” but are inwardly as “whited sepulchres.” I have compared the effects of Islam, to the forced religion of the English Commonwealth and the latter years of Louis the XIV.’s reign—but the parallel is scarcely just. The religious enthusiasm of these periods was hypocrisy of the worst kind—forced and unnatural; but the enthusiasm which is universal throughout Islam is spontaneous and natural. How to account for this fact, apparently contrary to the natural order of man’s inclinations, is not so difficult as it may at first appear; and the solution of the problem lies in the different aspects in which the Christian and the Moslem regard God. It cannot, I think, be questioned that to the Christian the pre-eminent attribute of the Divinity with which he is concerned, is His justice. The very lowest of the uneducated classes at home, regard God simply as a judge; as the being who will hereafter apportion to them either eternal punishment or eternal bliss “according to their works,” and this idea is not lost though slightly modified among the better educated classes. Such an idea, though known to the Moslem, exercises but the faintest possible influence upon him. To him Mercy is a synonym for the Deity, as it is the one attribute of the Divinity on which he longs to dwell. How strikingly is this fact evidenced in many incidents of my intercourse with Mahomedans in my assumed character. Over and over again, when rebuked by men of varying religious character and sincerity for neglecting religious obligations, my reply that “God is the merciful, the forgiver,” * has been accepted as a sufficient excuse. To the Moslem there is nothing to fear from God for disobedience, nothing to gain from obedience.† Such being the case, how comes it that the Moslem is so obedient to the most exacting duties required of him? Probably the most active cause is the consensus of opinion on the subject. The Moslem who neglects his duties (except a convert) is not advised nor spoken to on the subject by his co-religionists, but as fast as his indifference to his religious duties becomes developed, so does he find himself gradually slipping out of the pale of the society in which he at first moved, until eventually, without any direct or marked break in his intercourse with his fellows, he becomes a social outcast. He still speaks and is spoken to, and none but those initiated in the daily life of Mahomedans could mark any peculiarity in the intercourse; but none the less does he and those he confers with recognize the fact that “between me and thee there is a great

* *Allaho Akbar wa al Ghafur.*

† I refer here only to sins of “omis-

sion” and not to sins of “commission.”

gulf fixed." The Christian who has fallen from the path of rectitude is spurned and condemned, insulted and loathed by those who before hailed him with pleasure. Not so the Moslem in a similar condition; he may be a fallen brother, but he is still a brother. Pity and not contempt, sorrow and not censure, are meted out to him. Hence religion becomes to the Moslem a bond of unity to all that enchains his earthly affections. Again, to the Christian the very existence of God, though ever admitted, is seldom if ever recalled to his thoughts amidst the hurry and bustle of his every-day life. To the Moslem the image of God is almost ceaselessly present. He closes his eyes at night, breathing a declaration of His Unity and His Mercy; his first words in the morning are but a repetition of the same truths; throughout the day, his meals, his out-goings, his incomings, his business, his intercourse with his friends and acquaintances, in fact almost all that he does recalls the existence of God to him, through the medium of phrases and exclamations of pious import, which seem never to lose this power from the frequency with which they occur. Those who have had an opportunity of watching the course of Moslem conversation, cannot fail to have noticed this fact. Often does the simple reply, *Subhan Allah*—Praise be to God, the common rejoinder to an enquiry as to a person's health—lead to a discussion, brief but earnest, on religious topics. Indeed no thinking man can move amongst Mahomedans, and listen to or take a part in their ordinary discourse without having his reflections turned towards "thoughts of another world than this, where all is pure and holy." Such at least has been my experience. Here, then, we have in these two facts, an explanation of the cause which produces the religious aspect which tones all Islam. It is the custom among Christian writers to brand this admission or rather intermixture of religion with the every-day affairs of life, as the result of hypocrisy. Nothing can be more false or more unfounded. Islam, as I have said, has its hypocrites, its Pecksniffs who make a trade of religion, but it has none of that lesser hypocrisy which is so painfully evident among Christians. When the Moslem ejaculates, *Insha 'Uah*, if it please God, he recognises the full force of what he says and he means it; when he exclaims that his misfortunes are the will of God, he shows by his actions that he utters no meaningless profession of faith. How many Christians are there to whom these statements would apply? We profess a faith, a trust in God, which scarce one in a thousand of us really has.

We find it an almost invariable rule that men who devote their time and energies to one particular object, become intellectually cramped and incapable of appreciating other subjects. Intense application to a speciality, blunts our keenness for other studies, and it might be thought that the pre-eminent position which

religion takes among Mahomedans, would tend to prevent their entering upon more worldly themes with any great degree of enterest. Indeed some writers have asserted this to be the case. It is not so; religion undoubtedly obtains among them a more universal and frequent consideration than any other theme, but it does not by any means totally exclude mundane affairs, nor does it mar their enjoyments. The native theatres of Bombay attract alike the Cabulee and the Arab, who understanding but little of the dialogue follow the *exits* and entrances of the various characters with intense interest. As a specimen of the manner in which such amusements are regarded, I will give an incident from my experience in Bombay. The play was, if I remember correctly, *Indur Sabha*, one of the most popular dramas of the Hindustani stage. I and my two companions, one a native of Mecca, the other a Cabulee, were seated among the "gods," who in an Indian theatre occupy the lower instead of the upper regions. During the play a *Lall Dev* (red devil or satyr) appeared: "now God be praised, but that is a devil (*shytan*)" quoth the Arab. "Oh Mahomed, how can you talk of God, his name be praised, and the devil in one breath?" cried the Cabulee. "Why not" rejoined the man of Mecca "wouldn't you say God save us from the devil the pelted of stones"?* "True, but it is not good to use such words here in a theatre; it is bad to pray in an unclean house." "By God † if it is bad to say God's name here, it is worse to come and sit here." This is the test by which the Moslem commonly decides all questions of right or wrong; and reminds me of the "converted collier" who created such a sensation in England some five years ago. Preaching one time in Dublin he exclaimed—"would you like to die in a theatre, or in a gin-palace, or in a gambling hell, because if you would, there's no harm in going to them (*sic*) places. This is, in fact, a common notion among "Methodists;" Christians in general refer religion to "its proper time and place;" the Moslem holds every time and place not directly connected with sin, as fit for religious discourse. The dialogue which I have just given will show that "opinions differ" among the faithful as to the legitimacy of theatrical entertainments. Many indeed hold them unlawful, others go from the musjid to the theatre. I have myself seen a Moslem ‡ praying in a theatre, not of course, when the

* *A'oz billah min eshshytan errageem*, the exclamation which every good Moslem uses when he yawns, the prophet having said that "the devil jumps down a yawning throat;" the phrase is also used during the *haj*, when stoning the devils at Mina.

† *Wallah*, the common oath of an

Arab.

‡ Here as everywhere else throughout these prayers I limit the phrase Moslem, or Mahomedan, and its equivalents to its strict sense—an orthodox, or sunni Mahomedan unless when the words Shiah, &c., may be used in conjunction with them.

performance was going on. This incident will also serve to explain my meaning in affirming that Islam affords an opening for the development of individual character.

"Moulvie," said I one day to a religious friend of mine, "it is forbidden to play games of chance, does the prohibition include billiards (*mez par goli khatna?*) "which is a game of skill?" "It is doubtful," he replied, "but it is better not to engage in it." Such is the general opinion, not only of billiards, but of cards, though among the lower classes in Bombay both games are extremely popular; and I know of one coffee-house at least where "*Puchees*" "twenty-five" is nightly played by men otherwise "in the odour of sanctity." I visited this Moulvie one day, while wearing a solah topee, instead of the *fez* which I generally adopted on such occasions. A Shiah who was present made some observation as to my wearing an "English topee" which I did not fully hear; but turning to the Moulvie I asked his opinion as to whether or not it were lawful to wear an article of dress peculiar to Christians. "You are" he replied "a European, why should you not wear the dress to which you are accustomed." I said that it was the general practise for Mahomedans to wear a peculiar kind of head-dress, which served to distinguish them from Hindoos, &c. "God" he replied "has given but one direction as to dress." Much diversity of opinion was expressed to me by Moslems on this subject, but I always came off victor—by asking whether a clean heart (*saf dil*) or a new puggree was the more acceptable to God.

These incidents will be, I trust, sufficient to show that the code of Islam is neither so narrow nor so strict in its obligations as we are commonly told, so far as practise is concerned. The doctrines of Islam are however less open to dispute, though they are not all "assertions which it is heresy to question" as one author asserts; according to the generally-received opinion that *Munkir* and *Nakir*, the two angels who are described as examining a deceased Moslem immediately after his burial, really go through the ceremony of questioning the deceased as to his belief and conduct when in the world. I heard the subject discussed in English by two Mahomedans, one arguing that the account of the ceremony was to be read literally, the other, that it was to be considered *Majuz*, or figurative. A, argued that inasmuch as the prophet had once stated that he had heard the groans of a deceased man who was being belaboured, the passage must be taken in a literal sense. B, maintained the figurative view on the ground that two angels could not possibly pass from grave to grave with sufficient celerity to perform the same task wherever and whenever a Mahomedan was buried; he also viewed the prophet's declaration in a figurative sense, giving as his reason for

so doing two assertions of the prophet, which he worked into a pretty fair syllogism thus:—

The prophet said no *man* can hear the groans of the deceased when being tortured.

The prophet said “I am only a *man* ;”

Therefore the prophet could not have heard the groaning of a deceased man suffering torture. I need scarcely add that A, was

“Convinced against his will,
So held his own opinion still.”

A frequent point of disputation is as to what a belief in the *Kalma*, or creed* necessarily implies. The reader who is anxious to know what the two fundamental points of Mahomedan belief may be made to mean, can refer to “Ockley’s Saracens” where he will find an explanation of their meaning written by a celebrated divine, and extending over several pages of small type!

The Koran itself declares that it is sufficient for salvation that a man should repeat the *kalma* with a believing heart. Many Mahomedans contend however that a belief in the *kalma* necessarily implies a belief in the principal doctrines of the religion as well, and they base their argument upon the principle that if you believe Mahomed to be the prophet of God, you must also believe whatever he has said—since it is impossible that the prophet of God should either wilfully or unknowingly tell a falsehood. This argument is found among Christians, for it is needless to say that a belief in Christ is held to impress a belief in the doctrines he taught. But although the Koran itself explicitly states that Mahomed’s declaration on religious matter is “to be received” (and by inference, as infallible) I have heard many Moslems question whether it was essential to salvation that any other doctrine or doctrines beyond those contained in the *kalma* (in their most limited sense) should be received.

It will now be evident to my readers, that not only has the Mahomedan a certain amount of option as to the degree of attention he pays to the ceremonial portion of the law, and as to his daily conduct, but also as to his belief. All this is radically opposed to what the majority of authors† tell us on the subject, nor need any surprise be felt that it is so. Few if any Mahomedans when writing or speaking of religion will admit that there can by any possibility be a doubt as to the absolute correctness of their own views, and hence men who form their acquaintance with Mahome-

* The *Kalma* exists in several forms, each of which contains however but the two distinct assertions, that “there is no God but *Allah*, and Mahomed is his prophet.” This is

the shortest form, and in Arabic reads thus:—*La illaha illallah, Mahomed arrasool’allah.*

† English and Mahomedan.

danism through the medium of books are frequently led into error. While, however, each Mahomedan holds his own views with as much persistency as any Christian sectarian, unlike the latter, he does not consign all who differ from him to the abode of *Eblis**. The character I assumed was peculiarly favourable for an investigation as to the exact amount of uniformity of belief existing among Mahomedans, for each one with whom I conversed viewed me as a possible convert to his own theories and thus pleaded his cause with energy, whereas in disputing with those whom he supposed to be a born Mahomedan, he would adopt the tone of one who argued "for argument's sake," or as though seeking for information—unless, of course, when speaking with an intimate acquaintance.

There are two subjects which may perhaps be most suitably introduced here:—the personal character of Mahomed, and *jehad*, or religious war. We need not dip far into the writings of European authors on these subjects, to detect the impulse under which they write. From Alexander Ross † to Major Osborn, ‡ our authors seem to have considered it their duty when discussing such questions to heap together all the calumny they could, and excite themselves into fierce denunciations of the prophet, as an "ambitious politician," an "assassin," one who sought only "worldly dominion," a "libertine," and so forth; nor is the *jehad* a subject which such writers can afford to discuss calmly, dispassionately or truthfully. *Jehad* had been denounced as being the "obligation under which the faithful lie, to kill and destroy all infidels;" and Europeans generally insist on holding the opinion, that every Mahomedan who neglects an opportunity of giving an infidel the choice between death or Islam is esteemed little better than an infidel himself. Let it be sufficient to say that did the Koran or the *Miskat al Masibah*§ support this theory, there is scarcely a Mahomedan in the country whose hands would not now be dipped in English blood. As pointed out in an able article which recently appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*, from the pen of the learned negro, the Revd. Mr. Blyden, an orientalist of no mean attainments and conversant with Mahomedanism, the influence of race has often been mistaken for the influence of reli-

* The devil, said to have received this name when he refused to worship Adam: the name signifies "one who despairs of God's mercy."

† Alexander Ross was the first translator of the Koran into English, and made his translation from André ou Ryers' French Koran: Ross terms the Koran a "gallimaufry of errors."

‡ See *Islam under the Arabs* recently published.

§ The traditions of the prophet. The Revd. Mr. Hughes of Lahore, is I am glad to learn, endeavouring to procure the republication of the only English translation which has ever appeared of this work, which is as important as it is interesting.

gion ; and it is really painful to read the wild ravings of some of the writers who have blundered on this head. It does not, however, come within the scope of this article to discuss the literary productions on either side of the question ; if it did I could quote pages from writers whose fanaticism against Islam must seem to those better acquainted with the subject as little superior to the wild utterings of an alarmed imbecile. Among Mahomedans the feelings towards disbelievers, especially Christians, are rather those of pity and compassion, than of hatred. One evening in Bombay I was sitting in a coffee shop with a Christian, to whom I gave my *hookah* to smoke, this being contrary to the well-known custom of the Indian Mahomedans. I was not surprised when the proprietor's son came up and expostulated with me for "defiling" his *hookah* by such a procedure. I only laughed and resumed the *hookah* myself, whereupon the excitable youth exclaimed "you are a *kafir* (infidel) too." Throwing the *hookah* down I quickly made him retreat with a hotter ear than probably he had ever felt before, and the words "*kelb-bin-kelb*" (dog and son of a dog) echoing after him. The whole assembly rose, and an aged man who was well-known to all present and much respected by them, acting the part of spokesman, enquired from me the reason of my violent procedure. I recounted the circumstances precisely as they had occurred, and while I was mildly censured by the old man for the misconduct of allowing a Christian to smoke a Moslem *hookah*, my adversary was roundly rated for applying the word *kafir* to me. He (my opponent) thereupon explained that it was not to me, but to my companion that he had spoken ; "and dost thou not know" quoth the old man, "that a Christian is not an infidel?" (*kafir*), and a regular chorus of "*Subban Allah, yih t' such bat hai*" (praise be God, these are true words) and such like phrases assented to the statement. This incident shows how false is the theory that Christians are 'hated' by all Mahomedans ; in fact none but a most ignorant Mahomedan would dream of calling a Christian or a Jew a *kafir*. Christians are however *Musrickoona* * literally, that is to say, people who associate another God with God. Christians will of course deny that their belief in the Trinity implies anything of this kind, but with this I have nothing to do—I am simply explaining Mahomedan views on the subject. To return to the *jehad*. Christians though not *kafirs* are still outside the pale of Islam, and being so are open to *jehad* ; hence the subject at the present time especially is one of considerable interest, and the following brief summary of the opinions common among Indian Mahomedans will I hope throw some light on it.

A Mahomedan is not bound to engage in *jehad* against a country or people who permit him to exercise his religion without hindrance,

* *Islam and race distinctions*, Frasers Magazine, November 1876.

nor can a *jehad* be proclaimed without sufficient cause being shown. In the lesser "*jehad*"* the rights of even infidels against whom it is not directed should be respected.

The "*lesser jehad*" is where one or more particular sects have acted aggressively towards Mahomedans, and the *jehad* is directed only against them. The "*greater jehad*"† is when Islam faces *all* disbelievers, and fights until either *all* disbelievers are exterminated, yield tribute or are converted. Christians may even assist in the "*lesser jehad*." Towards the close of the pilgrim season of 1875-76, the war in Turkey was formally declared to be a *jehad* by the *ulema* (or council of the learned) in Mecca. On the evening of the day on which I learned this fact, I drove down to a *Musafir-khana*‡ in the native town of Bombay, where I knew I should meet several Arab, Persian, and Hindustani Mahomedans; and having seated myself among them, after the customary salutations, I seized the first opportunity of enquiring whether they had heard of the declaration of the *jehad* at Mecca. "*Jehad!*" cried an *Iranee* (Persian§) who was regarded as a free-thinker, "the Turks can't make a *jehad*, for they want the English to help them." "What a wise man!" retorted the child of Allah, mentioned in a preceding page, "It is a *Jehad* against *Russ* (Russia) and not against England." "Why" said another, "did not the English and French make *jehad* against Russia for the Sultan (of Turkey) before, why should they not do it again?" From this it may be seen that *jehad* is, in the Mahomedan mind, by no means a synonym for fanaticism, wanton outrage and bloodshed, as Christian writers are continually asserting. If instead of defining a *jehad* as "a war of extermination against infidels," our authors would describe it as "a war in defence of Islam" they would be much nearer the truth.

Before proceeding to the consideration of Mahomed's character as it affects Mahomedans of the present day, I wish to enter a strong protest against the attempts made by many learned orientalisks towards elucidating Mahomedan character and sentiment by philological research. As an example of what I allude to let me refer to Mr. Blyden's article on "Islam and race distinctions." In commenting on Major Osborn's remarks on *jehad*, Mr. Blyden points out that the word *Mushrikun* in the Koran, translated "polytheists" by Rodwell, and "idolators" by Sale, is

* *Jehad esseghir.*

† *Jehad Alkabeer.*

‡ *Musafir-khanah*, a travellers' house, is the oriental equivalent for the English Hotel. The traveller however gets no other accommodation than empty rooms. He must provide and cook his own meals, &c.

§ *Iranee* means literally a native of Iran, but in India, Arabia, &c., it is more commonly used in the wider sense of any Persian; thus you will here of an "*Iranee* Bagdadee," a Persian of Bagdad. It is also occasionally used as a synonym for the word *Shiuh*.

“a term in which the radical idea is that of association,” and adds that the *sura* or verse in which it occurs, “is addressed to Arabs who believed in and worshipped only the true God, and refers to the treatment to be accorded by them to those Arabs who joined the worship of idols with that of the true God.” Mr. Blyden’s remark on the etymology of the word is most probably perfectly correct, for he is I believe a highly accomplished Arabic scholar; but I assert positively that the inference which he appears to draw, namely, that the word *Mushrikun* in the *sura* alluded to should not be viewed as applying to Christians; however correct it may be, as regards the prophet’s intention when writing the verse, it is totally at variance with the generally received opinion of Mahomedans. I speak on this matter authoritatively because, while engaged in revising the account of my pilgrimage to Mecca, with a view to republishing it, I devoted a good deal of time and trouble to ascertaining the exact meaning commonly applied to the word. Here are briefly some of the answers I received to my enquiries,

Every one not being a Moslem.

Every one except Jews and Moslems,

Every one who believes in more than one God.

Every one who asserts that God is not an Absolute unity, and entirely without an equal.

Now not one of these definitions agrees with Mr. Blyden’s rendering of the word, and the same remark applies to all the answers I received. It must be remembered that to judge of the influence which any part or word of the Koran exerts upon Moslems, we should not seek for the strict etymological meaning, or the philological value of the word, or its root; nor for the sense in which it was originally used—but for the interpretation which the Mahomedans of the present day give to it. Mr. Blyden’s assertion that the *sura* referred to does not direct an indiscriminate and unprovoked *jihad* against Christians is perfectly correct; but the argument on which he bases his opinion is equally wrong, and he thus resembles a man who has walked along a crowded roadway instead of on the footpath, for his safe arrival at his destination is simply a fortuitous occurrence, and he has run a serious and altogether unnecessary risk of being knocked down on the way and so committing a blunder.

We now come to the last question with which I will deal in this paper, namely, the influence which the personal character of the prophet still bears upon his followers.

If we scan the voluminous records of the history of man—omitting Sacred Writ—or labour through the still wider pages of

that fantastic history with which the soaring imagination of mankind in every age and clime, seeking for an ideal perfection of heroism has filled the realms of fiction; there is one name which stands forth from the crowd, like a massive diamond far outshining the paler gems by which it is surrounded, and claims our consideration as a reality superior in its grandeur to all that the mightiest intellect has yet conceived. For centuries buried beneath the scorn and contempt heaped upon it by all who at the time boasted learning or civilization; spurned and contemned, submerged beneath a sea of contumely, that name still shines forth, if not as that of the apostle of God, at least as that of one of the grandest and noblest examples of the might and power of God, as displayed in the abilities He has bestowed upon mankind, His last, as His eternal creation. Granting that the name of Mahomed, the prophet of Arabia, is symbolical of religious error, admitting that it is the living memory of one who cried in bitter acknowledgment of his own weakness—"I am no more than a man,"—allowing that the weakness so freely owned led him into sin—if not into crime; there still rises up a picture of trust in the almighty power and the infinite mercy of God, such as the pages of no other history can record as having been excelled. "We are three, for God is with us" replied the prophet when Aburake feared their approaching foes; and here we have a key to what else would be a mystery. Mortal man, unaided by the strength which can be born alone of pure reliance on God, could never have accomplished that which Mahomed has done. It was one of the bitterest of the curses which Eve brought upon mankind, that taught us to recognise our own weakness. Poor finite man how oft has thy intellectual conceptions towered high unto the heaven of perfection, only that the weight of the mighty structure which it had raised should fall tumbling into ruins overwhelming the base weakness of the flesh on which it was built. How many a loving, longing, aching heart has groaned at the miseries of its surroundings and in the extremity of its anguish cried aloud to God as the old Rabbi to the angel, "I pray thee, write me down as one who loves his fellowmen." Was Mahomed such a man as this?—or was he an ambitious, heartless, revengeful hypocrite as he has been often painted? I am not going to discuss here the *pros* and *cons* of this question; they would be indeed altogether irrelevant to my present purpose; but the character of the prophet is so intimately connected with that of his followers that it is impossible to wholly omit the consideration of it. In no other case which the history of religions produces, can the personal character of the founder or leader claim to have established such a wonderful impression of itself on all his followers, as it has ever been admitted that of Mahomed has

effectually stamped upon his people. This fact indeed has been frequently misapplied by imperfectly qualified critics as a support on which to hang their fiercest denunciations of the prophet and his followers. They have asserted that Mahomed was "bigoted, sensual, ambitious," and wholly devoid of good; and that *consequently* his followers are not one whit better than the man they love to paint as the fiercest fanatic whose name has been recorded, little less indeed than an inhuman monster, unequalled for depravity and viciousness. More recent writers have brought themselves by the influence of candour and justice to admit that the old estimate of the prophet and his people was erroneous; that the Koran was not a mere incoherent mixture of blasphemy and absurdity, but a religious, social and legal code, eminently suited to the need of the people for whose especial use it was compiled, and adapted to the wants of the nation amidst which it was first promulgated. But even yet it would seem that the prevailing idea of Islam is that it is a narrow, bigoted creed, entirely opposed to social progress in its internal effect—and the bitter, uncompromising foe of every one else, an implacable, hating, bloodsucking code, in its external aspect. All this is founded not on fact, but on facts which have been garbled, mutilated and misrepresented to an extraordinary degree. So much has this been the case that even those facts which it would seem impossible to present in such a manner—for example, the recognition of Christians and Jews as worshippers of and believers in the same God whom the prophet termed Allah—have been seized upon by Christians as a medium for fresh invective. That Mahomed's religion contains elements derived from the two systems just named can scarcely be questioned, but that he adopted so much from them with a view to conciliating their professors, is an absurdity. Judaism, with its ceremonial services and legal prohibitions, comes much nearer Islam, than can Christianity be supposed to do; yet the distinction between the Christian and Mahomedan religions is, in its detail, scarcely less obvious than the distinction between Islam and Judaism, and this remark applies with equal force to the conditions in which these religions existed in the seventh century as well as at the present moment. Whatever may have been Mahomed's motives in teaching the doctrines of Islam, there cannot be a doubt as to the chief and most lasting result of the lessons he imparted to his followers: and what is this result? Is it the formation of an earthly hell in which the only bond of friendship which exists is a fiendish craving for the destruction of all that stands without its limits? Far indeed from this, as I have shown, the Moslem holds God as the fountain of mercy and compassion; he believes these to be the grand distinctions of the Divinity; and he looks upon their imitation by

man, as his noblest ambition, at least so far as this world is concerned. That Mahomed taught this doctrine is not to be denied. In the Koran he dwells on it over and over again. God to the Mahomedan is a Being who delights to welcome the repentant; Whose greatest joy is to forgive, and Whose loving kindness is supreme. Nor is the doctrine of love to man less prominently a feature of Islam, though it is to be regretted that it is perhaps less forcibly advocated in the Koran; but nothing can be more explicit or less open to question than the answer which the prophet gave to the enquirer who asked, "how are the poor to give alms?" mark the reply—"He who leadeth the blind, giveth alms." It is impossible to go beyond this in recognition of the relations which connect man and man together, and place both in their mutual relationship into connection with the Deity. That Mahomed was far from being a man devoid of humanity or those affections which stir the softest emotions of mankind, this one incident does much to prove; if indeed it stood alone, like a bright coin half hidden in a gutter, it would still show that dark and noisome as its resting place might be, it was not incapable of holding some of the pure gold of human sympathy. But this is not the only incident of the kind; even more forcible still as showing the weakness of a man who never quailed at death, are the silent tears which rolled from his eyes for one who had passed away, one whom he had loved with a rich intensity of affection. No tradition of the prophet has left its impress more clearly on the Moslem, than that which bids him love his mother. So far indeed does this principle go, that the unbelieving mother is regarded as still worthy of the utmost devotion which the son can offer. A young Hindoo who had recently become a convert to Islam spoke one day in my presence, to some Mahomedans about his parents, and related how his mother had thrown herself at his feet and offered to sell her last jewel to procure his re-admission into his father's caste. Boy-like the young fellow was not altogether unmoved while relating the incident, but endeavoured to hide his emotion with an attempt at a jest. His companion, a boy but little older or more thoughtful than himself, looked grave, and an old man who sat near read a long and serious lecture to the offender, telling him in effect that although he had become a Mahomedan, he should still love and reverence his mother, and yield her obedience in everything that did not conflict with his religious duty: "assuredly" he concluded "for every grief you cause your mother, God will punish you." Nor of over twenty Mahomedans present, including *Shiahs*, *Sunnis*, Persians, Hindustanies and Arabs, was there one whose tongue refrained from endorsing the old man's words, while he himself spoke with emotion. Can the man the traditions of whom uphold such theories as these

be fairly described as "a gloomy fanatic," and a "stern, unyielding moralist devoid of human sympathies"? "Moving in the outer world of every-day life the Mahomedan exhibits a calm and placid exterior; no sentiments and but little emotion ever betray themselves on his well-regulated countenance, and so the Europeans who know nothing more of them than what they thus see, imagine that the unmoved features represent the hidden heart as it really is. Come with me then, and see in thought what I have seen in reality. It is the night the "glorious night" of *shab-i-barat*.* The first watch of the day on which the angels fill in the books of man's destiny and sum up the record of the past twelve months—all is rejoicing and festivity. Near and around the *Kubristans* or burial grounds, booths are erected and filled with all that can attract the eye of the young Moslem or induce the older to spend a rupee, for all Islam keeps holiday to-night. In the mosques pious men sit reading their Korans to attentive gatherings, and there as everywhere the best clothes alone are worn. Long irregular processions are formed as the crowds wind along through the narrow irregular streets, for almost all are hurrying in the same direction—mix with the throng and listen to what you can overhear—do not be ashamed to play the eaves-dropper, there is no danger of your learning State secrets. With some conversation is on general topics, others talk over the past—not a few are recalling those who are gone; and yet some more, *tasheh* in† hand, breathe half audible prayers. As we near the graveyard the throng thickens and begins to accelerate its speed—conversation flags, droops and ultimately ceases, jest and laughing gives place to gravity of countenance, for every step recalls the time when the same journey was made with the melancholy intonation of the *Kulma*‡ bidding its farewell to those who had been near and dear—nor can the Moslem forget that on this day will be recorded the decision whether or not he shall live to see its anniversary, and thus we reach the gate of the burial ground. Lining the path on either side are rows of beggars, principally old women and crippled men. Equally numerous are the vendors of ever-greens which are hastily purchased to lay on the graves of the loved and lost. And now the crowd divides pressing some this way and some that, swaying, pushing, squeezing and struggling through

* *Shah-i-barat*—night of record, the 15th day of the month of *Shaban*, beginning at 6 P. M. It is also termed *lailat-al-mubarik*, the blessed night; *lailat arrahmat*, night of mercy; and *lailat-al-fareka*, night of discernment.

† *Tasheh*, the Mahomedan rosary containing 100 beads, to assist the recollection in repeating the 100 names of God—or a given number of *Fatiha*

(1st chapter of Koran) or *Kulho* (112th chapter of the Koran, &c.

‡ At funeral processions, the people generally keep repeating the *Kulma* as they pass along. The Seedee or Negro Mahomedans of Bombay shout it out in chorus with considerable vigour, but this method is not approved of.

the return crowds that are making their way out. To the European mind there is much that harmonises but ill with the place. Fire-works rushing through the air in such quick succession that their continual bursting resembles the echoing of a *feu de joie*, laughing and jokes may now and then be heard, but only among the younger and more thoughtless, and a chiding look or reproachful word stops it though but for a while. Watch the crowd as it passes along, ever separating and diminishing as one after another steps aside to pray by a well-known grave. Scarcely one but bears a bunch of evergreens, in one hand, and a rupee or two of small change in the other, dropping pie by pie and pice by pice into the hands the laps or *kushkuls** of the *fakeers* and *miskins*† who line the paths. Now we step aside and see what it is which makes the graveyard the common rendezvous to-night. I have seen many a young and many an old Moslem's lip quiver as he too stepped from among the crowd to among the tombs. Here the outward pride of Islam, as of all things earthly, passes away, and the sad, bitter realization of life and death takes its place. Reverently standing by the grave the Moslem prays, first the *Fatiha*, a truly beautiful prayer, and then a self-dictated prayer for mercy to him who lies buried there, and for him who prays. His prayer finished the "stern Moslem who knows no earthly tie" kneels down and with careful and loving hands, re-arranges the simple stones which mark the surface of the grave, and puts the evergreens carefully down, as emblems that the dead are not forgotten. Come now and penetrate into the more lonely portions of this great field of death. Here by a lonely grave, which to the initiated bears unmistakable tokens of the poverty of the deceased, sits a little boy scarce twelve years old, who takes no heed of us as we approach, but continues steadily on, though with a faltering voice and tear-dimmed eyes, to recite his Koran, praying God that he may have mercy on the father who lies below. See that group of Moslems who are now approaching, busily talking among themselves, note how they pause to listen to the boy's perusal, and with what kindly, pitying and affectionate, yet hopeful, words they speak to him, when for a moment he pauses in his recital. Think you is that old man who recalls with a softened voice the time when he too mourned a loving parent passed away, think you, I say, is he "a gloomy fanatic?"—and will it be with contempt, say you, that the recording angel will write down the record of the ill-spared rupee which the boy has just received, while the kindly-hearted

* *Kushkul*, the beggar's gourd, generally one-half of a cocoanut (*nard*) split along its greatest circumference and suspended by two strings.

† A *Fakeer* is one who makes a vow of poverty for religion's sake; and a *miskin* one who is reduced to poverty by circumstances which he cannot control.

donor sought to hide the act as though it were a crime? While wandering alone through the graves of Sonapore * one *shab-i-barat*, I paused for a few moments by a group of trees, thinking myself alone, and stood watching the fire-works that chased one another like fiery spirits through the air, and was thus gazing absorbed in meditation when I heard a deep groan behind me. Turning round I saw an old woman, evidently a *mishkin*, bent upon the ground that covered a newly-closed grave; and amidst the mingled mutterings of prayers and moans, the words "none, none, I have no one now," were breathed with an earnestness of woe, that the sight of a grave scarcely ever fails to recall to my memory. These are things which I have seen, nor can I regard them as remarkable or extraordinary occurrences, since they tally exactly with the every-day character of the people as they are among themselves.

Let us now turn to the Moslem in his daily life, and see there if we can find any traces of "a gloomy fanatic." Let us see him first in public; and the best place to do that is in the coffee shops, where feeling himself among his fellow-Moslems, he knows no reasons for restricting his freedom of speech. Passing into the coffee shops he gives first a broad and general greeting in the usual form, and having received the customary response, salutes his personal acquaintances one by one. He is a Sunnee or orthodox Mahomedan, so of course you say his friends are so also—you are wrong, however. See that tall Persian there to whom he has given such a warm greeting, and with whom (to judge from their brief but whispered converse) he is on tolerably confidential terms, that man is an acknowledged free-thinker, believes the letter of the *kalma* and nothing else. That other man with whom our friend is now talking so busily is a Shiah, for bitter as is the enmity of the two sects, it is kept for special occasions, and but seldom interferes with their mutual intercourse, unless stirred up by passing events. But now the conversation becomes general, *Sunnee*, *Shiah* and free-thinker all alike join in; and the *lingua franca* of Bombay, a disreputable Urdu, † is chopped and hacked about by Persians, Arabs and half-a-dozen others, and interspersed now and again with Persian proverbs or Arabic anecdotes. A *Shiah* has mono-

* The principal Mahomedan burial ground in Bombay.

† In Bombay the number of Arabs, Persians, and others, who acquire but an imperfect knowledge of the *Urdu* language is considerable; and in the coffee shop they frequent, such phrases as *bees ghora* (twenty horse) instead of *bees ghory* (20 horses) are

common, inflections suffering much from the ungrammatical acquaintance with the language which prevails. It exactly represents the broken Hindustani spoken by the Jeddah *bulmashes*. People who speak this style of Hindustani can seldom understand the purer language as spoken in the North.

polized the conversation for some time, when a *Sunnee* cries out to the proprietor—"why don't you turn these fellows out, they let no one else talk, and there is one of their own fellows over the way who has two cups and a *hookah* and keeps a coffee shop;" "What!" replies the *Shiah*, laughing at this attack "would it not be better for you to go and see what a Mogul's coffee shop is like, than sit here to drive honest folk away?" And then jest and joke are mutually exchanged, freely and hotly enough; but I never yet saw anything like anger or bitter feelings occasioned by repartees often touching strongly upon sectarian peculiarities. In the midst of the fun and raillery a miserable decrepid *miskin* appears at the door, and passing from one to another solicits alms. Those who like give, the others reply to the petition with a mild *mauf karo*, (forgive me); one hands his *hookah* to the poor wretch, and another shares his cup of tea with him. Anon comes a *fakcer* dressed out in the glories of his tribe, and reciting pious sayings with lusty lungs. Note *his* reception, not half so favourable as the poor *miskin* received. One gives a pice, another nothing, but the general reply is *mauf karo* in a somewhat different tone to that which was used to the *miskin*—for dervishism is dying a natural death among Arabs and Hindustanies, and *fakcers* find their influence dropping slowly away. "Why don't you work?" said an Arab to a *fakcer* in Bombay, in my presence; "*hillah*" (for God,)* replied the sturdy mendicant laconically. "Then" said the Arab "you should not beg, but put your trust in God;" and turning to me he added, "it is not right to give *yikat* † to these men," and he related the tradition of the prophet, who when distributing alms one day at Ajajut, twice passed over two men who showed considerable bodily vigour and strength, approaching them for the third time, they put in a claim for a share of the *yikat* which he was distributing. "I will give it to you" he replied "if you demand it, but that which I have is for the weak and poor (lit. helpless)."

But while I am thus digressing, our friend is quitting the coffee shop and we must follow him. Very respectable and comfortable looking, in a worldly sense, does he appear, and the acquaintances he salutes seem for the most part equally well to do. Now he bows his head and raises his hands as a well-known *moulvie* or priest passes him; now a brief nod suffices to recognize the humble salute of a *budmash* whose only claim to his notice is that the *budmash* inhabits a *gully* ‡ opening into the street in which our friend lives; now he grasps the arm of a young

* *Lit.* To God. The common word to express an action performed for religion's sake.

† *Yikat* will be explained here-

after; here it is sufficient to remark, that it is the alms which all Moslems are directed to give.

‡ Lane.

rascal in tattered garments and chides him roughly but kindly for not attending his school. Now his eye is caught by a new-fangled toy prominently displayed in a wayside shop. "Take it," says the shopkeeper as he hands it over in exchange for a few annas after a sharp bargain has been struck, "Take it, and may God bless you and your children." And now our friend has forgotten altogether the busy calculations of *Dr. & Co.* with which he has just been employed, and if you salute him, you will find that the little folks at home have engrossed his thoughts. Still he doesn't forget to stop at the corner shop and buy a new *surmadan*, a little miniature jar filled with *surma* (antimony) to adorn the eyes of his *Noor Mahal*; * and now let us leave him, and see while he is busy thinking of those at home what are they doing. Come, here is the house, the door is open, and being Moslems for the time at least, we pass upstairs unchallenged. Stepping into the front room, the boy (aged under fourteen) who does duty as nurse sits on his heels watching the children play. On one side a door half open lets through its portals a savoury smell of curries, *kabobs*,† and other good things, and a clatter of brazen dishes, and the hissing and crackling of a fire, mingling with the busy tongues of the women, tell that dinner is being prepared. Scarcely have we observed all this when a step is heard ascending the stairway, and the children listen a moment and then rush to the door, the boy nurse stands up and rectifies the disorder of his clothes, the door opens and in comes our friend. "Now, who was the good child today?" he cries, as he tosses the youngest little one high in his arms, just as our own papas once did with us, and then kisses the plump little fellow affectionately, and the children cry with glee just as if they had been born in London instead of Bombay. After a great deal of kissing and laughing, *paterfamilias* gets settled down at last, and sends a loud "peace be on you" flying away in the direction whence the sounds of the cookery are heard. Presently papa produces the new toy and the children run off to show it to mamma. Meanwhile the *dastarkwan* ‡ is laid, and dinner comes in smoking hot and smelling most invitingly. As there are visitors present, *Noor Mahal* does not appear; but just for a second a veiled head shows at the half-open door and enquires if everything is in proper order. Dinner over, *hookahs*, betelnut, and chit-chat serve to while away the time, until a motherly voice calls the children to bed; once more papa is kissed and kisses again, the little ones disappear, and as we too withdraw after

* "*Light of the house*"—his wife. *Surma* is the black powder applied to the eyes as an ornament.

† Roast or fried meat.

‡ *Dastarkwan*, the table or rather floor-cloth on which meals are spread and round which eaters sit.

making our *salaams* we overhear the distant mingling of a male with a female voice and something very like a hearty kiss.

True, every Moslem home does not afford such a picture as this, but in my brief intercourse with Moslems I have seen some such ; and the light that illumined them was the pure ray of affection.

Such is, as faithfully as I can draw it from my experience, the life of the Mahomedan ; and I believe what I have said will serve to show that as a social code, Islam is not the cold heart-chilling system it is so often represented to be. And bearing in mind what a weight is accorded to the traditions of the prophet, it cannot be held that his character has contributed to mar the affections of his followers one to another.

Need I pursue the subject further ? Need I bring forth more incidents to show how great, how deep, is the mistake so commonly made—that the Moslem is necessarily or generally “a gloomy fanatic.” I think not. The Moslem’s heart beats with as warm and true an impulse as does the Christian’s. Like the Christian, he will die for “the faith that is in him ;” but he will not compromise with what he conceives to be sin. His religion teaches him to bow un murmuringly to the decrees of God, but it never blurs or blots away that “little touch of nature which makes all men akin.”

ALFRED H. BROWNE.

ART. IX.—A CENTURY OF POLITICAL LIFE AND POLITICAL LITERATURE IN RUSSIA.

BY C. J. O'DONNELL, M. A., BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

IN speaking of Politics and Political Parties in Russia, we must be on our guard against importing into the subject the conceptions along with the nomenclature of Western public life. According to English or French standards, for instance, a critic would be justified in asserting that there was no such thing as politics in Russia at all. Politics can only exist where there is a political society and in Russia there is only what a Greek writer would describe as a *Toparvus*. We wish to imply neither praise nor blame in making this initial observation. The comparative advantages of the rule of all, the rule of several, and the rule of one, have had their exponents and champions in all ages ; and the race of the Filmer and the Lockes is not likely to be extinct so long as liberty has charms and authority has solid recommendations. Russia enjoys the benefits, such as they are, of the strictest monarchy of modern times ; and though monocratic government may alone be suited for the rude Muscovite nature, it is none the less difficult to find room for public life and action under such a system. When we speak of politics in France and England or even Spain we are instinctively led to call up the image of popular agitation and popular agitators, a Gambetta, a Gladstone or a Castellar, haranguing constituents and denouncing opponents, a free press exerting its powers in support of the various pretenders to public favour, and, as a natural consequence, a 'ministry of the day' anxiously on the look-out whether it is or is not likely to be the ministry of the morrow also. Trafalgar Square is open to Sir Wilfrid Lawson and his Temperance-crusaders or to Mr. John De Morgan and his Orton-Tichbornites. In Russia there is no place for this sort of thing. If a lot of students forget themselves so far as to hold a public meeting like what they read of in the West, and assemble in front of the Kasan Cathedral to demand, like Home Rule demonstrators in Hyde Park, 'the release of the political prisoners,' they are quickly recalled to actuality out of their dreamland by the charge of a squadron of gendarmes, and by the arrest and incarceration for ten or twenty years of the leaders of their manifestation. The Zemstvo of the district of St. Petersburg was so simple as to take itself for a representative body on the European pattern, and began to mumble some small beginnings of political discussion. A message from the police bade its members mind their roads and highways,

but never presume to indulge in political opinions again. The humiliated body only complained of the fact that such a mandate should have come from the police, just as if they were the keepers of a bad house, or had sheltered Polish conspirators. If they had been muzzled by a direct order of the Tsar, or of one of the higher ministers even, they would have been satisfied. When the cultured and able 'Russian Review,' presumed to hint that Russia had enough to reform at home to occupy her for a good while to come without troubling herself about new-modeling the Ottoman Empire also, a sentence of suspension followed as inevitably as natural facts in the sequence of natural causation. In dealing, then, with contemporary Russian politics we must remember that we are dealing with a political condition and with political movements, which do not depend upon the right of public meeting, or the right of free discussion, or the right of freedom of printing, or the right of representation, or the right of Habeas Corpus, or any other of the rights which Englishmen are accustomed to put in the same category with the law of gravitation and the inspiration of the family Bible.

At the same time, we must be on our guard equally against hastily assuming that there are no politics in Russia because the conditions which accompany all the political life we know of do not exist in the vast empire of the Tsars. There were politics at Rome even under the Cæsars, though the tribunes of the people had lost their veto and had lost themselves, and though the stormy freedom of the Comitia had sunk for ever into the immense stagnation of the Imperial peace. There were politics at Venice in spite of 'The Forty' and nameless accusations in 'The Lion's mouth.' There were politics in France under the Second Empire, even though the writers of the opposition had long to conduct their warfare against Napoleon the Third at the Tuilleries under the cover of caustic disquisitions upon Tiberius Cæsar in his island of Capriera. There were politics under the lower Greek Empire although debased to the rivalry of the Greens and the Blues of the Circus. The student of comparative history must raise his view above local forms and conditions at every moment if he would rightly appreciate the lessons of public events, and in examining the internal state of the Russian Empire we must be prepared to look below the surface of facts for much which elsewhere appears above it, and to take note of tendencies and to strike the balance between thought and expression when elsewhere we should only have to follow the debates of parliamentary assemblies and to register the resolutions of popular demonstrations.

Two stories, of which the one is true and the other may be only illustrative, will serve very fitly to introduce us to the study of our subject. When Dumouineux happened to mention to the Tsar Paul

the First something about one of the 'considerable' personages of his court, 'Understand,' replied the autocrat, 'that there is no person here who is considerable except the person to whom I may be speaking and he only while I am speaking to him.' This is one story, and here is the other. A Russian peasant being asked if he had ever seen the Tsar, replied 'no, but I know so well what he is like that I almost see him before me.' 'Well, what is he like?' continued the peasant's interlocutor, and with a look of reverence the child of Holy Russia made answer, 'He is an old man of immense size and wearing a long white beard and he sits all day upon a golden throne!' It was exactly the description of God the Father as represented upon the works of Russian ecclesiastical art, and the native faith of the peasant was the natural result of the doctrines of Cæsaro-papism in which he and his fellows had been steeped all their lives. 'L'état, c'est moi!' would only express half the theory of the Russian Tsardom. To express it fully it would be necessary to say 'L'état, l'église, la noblesse, le pouvoir, la foi, l'honneur, c'est moi'. And down to recent times, and under many Tsars in particular, the theory was as nearly realised as human nature and reason, forced to their last shifts, would permit. When Peter the Great abolished the Patriarchate of Moscow and roared to the murmuring Synod 'Silence! I am your patriarch', and when Nicholas sent his swaggering hussar general, Protassoff, clanking sabre, red jacket and all to command the same Holy Synod as Imperial Procurator for twenty years, the conception of the orthodox Tsar as a sort of human god upon earth, as it appeared to the poor peasant's loyal mind, was not without justification. The orthodox Tsar of all the Russias is in strict theory pretty much what his rival at Constantinople is to good Ottomans, Khalif and Sultan, or as a sound member of the well-disposed classes would say under Diocletian, 'Pontifex Maximus et Summus Imperator.' He has his rayahs, begs, pashas, and mullahs, in his mujiks, princes, tchinovniks, and bishops; and he is lord of all without as much as 'the Law and the Prophet' to interpose any real check on his will. But for the grim clutch at the throat by an occasional Orloff, when the vice-god had become totally insupportable, the theocracy would have been complete. As it was, it was a theocracy tempered by assassination, which, however, is a little circumstance that does not materially interfere with the correctness of the parallel with Constantinopolitan arrangements. Such was the scene on which Russian politics had to be born and to develop themselves. Even 'Young Turkey' can have no more difficult task before it in trying to constitutionalise the monarchy of the Bajazets and Sulaimaus.

The first weak beginning of public life in Russia cannot be held

to date back earlier than the close of last century or the opening years of the present. During the eighteenth century, indeed, the degradation of the Russian people reached its lowest point. There was something noble and human in the very barbarism of the hundreds of years which preceded, when compared to the dead level of servility in all departments which marked the period of Peter the Great and his successors. The aristocracy was utterly abased; but its abject attitude before the Tsar was perhaps its least degraded feature. Servile imitation of foreign fashions and foreign languages and even foreign vices was stamped upon every mode of thought and action in the refined circles of St. Petersburg. To resemble as much as possible the most contemptible roués of the Regency in speech, in immorality and in utter inutility, to ape the stiff brutality of Potsdam, these were the ideal aims of the gilded youth and solid middle age of the courtiers and generals of the Peters, Catherines, and Pauls. And the noble ambition was fully achieved, whilst in addition the Russian man of taste and fashion combined with the corruptions of the West, a sordidness, a grossness, and cruelty, which showed how deep was the trace of the Mongol dominion on those rude and ferocious natures. In the case of the lower people the inherited burthens of serfdom became immensely aggravated in order to support the expenses in blood and gold of the new centralised imperialism and militarism. The Russian peasant became the house and farm-slave of his owner, and also the barrack-slave of the State. Russian society soared on one side no higher than the regions of the Parc-aux-Cerfs and on the other plunged down to the squalid depths of the Siberian mines. The new men of position who could have wished under a more congenial system to have shown the nation the way to higher things had no alternative, when once they renounced the vicious culture, the dishonourable honours of the court and the bureaucracy, but to live a semi-vegetable existence upon their estates in the unfathomable depths of the country districts, among ignorant and wretched serfs, and drunken popes, and other land-owners as monotonous and more backward than themselves. The army half starved and half stripped by every description of rascally contractor and more rascally General, perished like flies in extending the cult of the St. Petersburg Cæsaro-papism at the expense of Poland and Turkey. The men of letters, the Lomonosoffs, and Somarokoffs, imitated or translated the masterpieces of Racine, Corneille and Voltaire, wrote stilted odes and panegyrics on distinguished official personages, and though receiving a certain countenance from the Government, were generally despised by the courtly circles for stooping to celebrate in mere Russian the exploits which deserved to obtain the honour of being sung in shambling French

verses of the calibre of the lucubrations of Friedrich the Second. Where, besides, was the need of dabbling in such vulgarity, when the court possessed a German theatrical company, an Italian opera troupe, and, above all, a corps de ballet?

Such was the condition of Russia only three-quarters of a century ago. Yet the thin seeds of European culture were taking root here and there in the waste; and the faint echoes of classic liberty sounded across the barriers of the Despotism even through the medium of such poor stuff as Trediakovsky's translation of Rollin's Roman History. A Von Vizing infused some of the dissolving philosophy of the eighteenth century into his satiric comedies of the '*Brigadier*' and the '*Minor*.' Free-masonry, imported into Russia by Novikoff and the Professor Schwartz, spread amid the mystery of its lodges principles of fraternity and tendencies towards equality, which found enthusiasts and adepts in the bosom of a society sick of itself and craving for change. The tremendous storm of the French revolution agitated even the torpid abysses of 'the last of the Khanates.' It was quickly seen that the levelling theories of the Encyclopædists had found a ready welcome in many noble breasts, and even the excesses of the Jacobins could not entirely destroy the attractions of the rights of man. Though the Masonic Societies fell under the ban of the Government, though Novikoff's Society of Friends was suppressed, and the innovator himself sent to meditate on the advantages of paternal administration in a cell of the fortress of Schlüsselburg, the impetus was given which has never since entirely ceased to vibrate through the pulses of Russian society. Karamzin, though his history was an official panegyric, called the attention of an increasing public to the national past and suggested a national future. Visions bounded by no bureaucratic limits opened up before the imagination of a rising generation. The thrilling appeal to Russian patriotism against the terrible invasion of Napoleon reminded Tsar and people alike that there was more in the empire than 'Tchins' and gradations of official rank, and that an autocracy which had need of the popular favour was an autocracy doomed sooner or later to follow in some sort or other public opinion. Perhaps the first Russian poems which really commanded the admiration of the higher circles of Russian society were the fables of Kryloff, full of allusions to the heroes of the anti-Napoleonic war of liberation, and the Russian camp songs of the gifted Shukovski. As the Muscovite hosts pursued the retreat of the Colossus of the Revolution home to his very capital, the rude conquerors saw at every step something to astonish, to attract, or at any rate to interest and instruct. Travelling expands the mind, and the rough riders and stiffly-laced and bedizened guardsmen who followed Kutusoff and

Schwartzenburg across Germany and France were on their travels with a vengeance. The voluptuous semi-savages of St. Petersburg brought back from Paris more than French mistresses and a taste for Veuve Clicquot's 'unutterably wonderful and delightful' vin de Champagne. In 1802 a Ministry of Public Instruction had been established. In 1816, after the Napoleonic wars were finally over, a Paedagogic Institute was founded for the education of the future teachers and professors of the country, and to ensure a wider culture than was available at home, the youthful *savans* were sent to the principal seats of learning in the West in order to prepare themselves better by the study of the institutions of a more advanced civilisation for the duties which awaited them. How bitterly did the Tsar Nicholas, in the period of reaction afterwards, curse the autocratic infatuation which had dreamed of reconciling public servitude with public instruction !

Even before the close of the reign of the gentle Alexander the reaction had begun. The hateful Araktshejeff, the iron Kutusoff, Shishkoff the able foe of all liberalism, these were the men who succeeded in influencing the emperor's mind in that direction, half tyrannical, half fanatical, but wholly horrible, which was to be the chosen course of Alexander's successor. The Masonic Societies were suppressed in 1822, as affording dangerous opportunities for the exchange of opinion and the cultivation of unorthodox liberty. Attempts to introduce some beginnings of intelligent reform into the formal subservience of the State Church were sternly put down, and the Bible Societies shared the fate of the masonic brotherhoods. The young men who were driven from the congenial retreat of the legitimate associations took refuge in illegal conspiracy. The liberal section even of the brilliant literary club of the 'Arzamas,' saw no hope for the country save in a political revolution. We know how they tried to carry out their designs in the bloody December of the year 1825, on the accession of the dreaded Nicholas, and how the hopes of the young Russia of the day disappeared amid the rattle of small arms and the thunder of cannon as the autocrat uttered the cynical order : 'il faut mitrailler cette canaille.' The 'canaille' on that awful day included the fine flower of Russian society ; but what could even intellect and patriotism do in a situation in which they could only get the consent of a few stupid regiments for the cry of 'Constantine and the Constitution,' by assuring the soldiery that 'Constitution' was the wife of Constantine ? The Paedagogic Institute of Alexander's better days might have done its work in the higher circles, but fortunately for the autocracy the masses were still as brutally ignorant as they ever were in 'Holy Russia,' and as they are, with few exceptions, at the present day. The orthodox Tsar

of all the Russias is pretty safe from domestic revolution so long as he has his blue-coated secret police on one side of him, and the venerable beards of his subservient popes all wagging damnation at every gainsayer of his temporal and spiritual omnipotence on the other. That is to say the orthodox Tsar is safe so long as his orthodox people follow his orthodox popes, and more or less believe that the first person of the Blessed Trinity is to be seen at the palace at St. Petersburg in the likeness of an old man of immense size, wearing a long white beard, seated on a golden throne all day long, and shining with incommunicable light.

The terrible era of the perfected autocracy, from the annihilation of the Dekabrists, the Decembrists, of the year 1825, down to the death of the iron Tsar at the collapse of his military ambition under the walls of Sebastopol, is bridged over, as far as politics are concerned, by the genius of a small band of writers who in any country would have won distinction, but who blaze like intellectual suns, in the restricted firmament of 'All the Russias.' Indeed, in any country they would have inevitably exercised political as well as literary influence, but in Russia their political influence was simply enormous. It was all the more overwhelming and all-pervading, because every appearance of political intention had to be so studiously avoided. What, indeed, could be more terribly provocative of that malcontent spirit, which is the very reverse of the menial admiration demanded by Tsarism, than the scathing exposure of the rottenness, the venality, the degradation, the misery and the hopelessness of Russian life in the higher circles as well as among the masses of the population, which found expression in the works of Gribojedoff, Pushkin, and Lermontoff in the earlier part of the present century, and of Turgenieff and the writers of the 'Denunciation School' in later years and at the present moment? The famous comedy of '*The Misfortune of having Brains*,' as we may translate the '*Gore of Uma*' of Gribojedoff, was enough to shatter at a stroke all the servile illusions fostered by the bureaucratic and militarist despotism. In spite of press censorship and police prohibition the fearful satire sped its way in thousands of secret copies through every grade of Russian society. Gribojedoff was no more when his work was allowed at length to see some of the light on the boards of a Russian theatre, but the types which he had lashed with the scourge of his wrathful and incisive muse, had stamped themselves meffaceably on the national recollection, and were only recollected with disgust tempered with the delight that such types, all so easily recognisable, had in truth been openly knouted with such an unsparing arm. The hero of the play, Tshaski, was a young Russian, who had learned to appreciate culture and independence of mind

in the free and intellectual society of foreign lands. He returns to his native country full of hopes of honourable ambition, full of proud expectations of a noble and useful career among great and good men and true and noble women. What is his experience? Among corrupt creatures of both sexes, who constitute to his horror the society of his native land, he is set down as a madman and a fool because he believes that truth is more than an empty name, that court favor can be purchased too dearly by moral degradation, that human nature has aims and duties beyond successful filching from the treasury and successful lackeyism to the Tsar. The old Senator, Famusoff, who had made his way so brilliantly to the highest ranks of the bureaucracy, and who could not understand what honour and conscience had to do with the service of the State, was a character which was alone sufficient to ensure the triumph of the piece. Everybody asked who had been the original, and nearly everybody named a different original. Skalosub, the army officer, who divided all mankind into two classes, those who had been in his regiment and those who had not; the professional gamester whom all the world knew to be a blackleg but was admitted into the best circles notwithstanding; the princess who felt her family to be disgraced because her nephew showed a turn for science; the fluent politician, who like Socrates in the Clouds of Aristophanes, was always proving opposite conclusions by turns, and all whose politics were froth and smoke;—who could behold such figures, who could recognise them as only too bitingly accurate, without also feeling that the entire system which produced such results had passed its trial and had been judged? It little availed that Tsar Nicholas had the comedy carefully emasculated of its sharpest shafts before authorizing its official representation. It had been unofficially published in every quarter of the empire long before, and the spectators easily supplied the lacunæ left by the imperial censorship.

Pushkin, again, whence did his genius draw its aspirations after the wild life of gipsy and bandit but from soul-sickness at the straight-jacket system of the Tsardom? Whence the bitter mockery of his description of life in 'the best classes,' but from a keen sense of the utter frivolity of every career permitted by the authorities? His Eugene Onieguin passed through all the phases of a Russian existence of the best class and found every phase dust and ashes. What was this sort of poetry, but politics, and politics of the most pernicious kind? The lesson of Lermontoff's romance '*A Hero of the Day*' was nothing better. Nay, to crown all, what a moral attack on the whole theory and practice of the autocracy was contained in the well-known teaching of the famous literary critic Bielinski, when he laid down, as he habitually laid

down, that the progress of a nation in culture and taste, in all that dignifies and ennobles life, is inextricably dependent on the possession of political institutions, which encourage, instead of repress, the free developement of all the faculties of intelligence and will? It was hard for the censorship to snip off with sharpest scissors the one or two objectionable bits of treatises like these. Such high æsthetic judgments seemed indeed to be elevated thousands of fathoms above the special institutions dear to the despotic soul in any particular land. Yet who could doubt that it all meant a solemn command to every true man to leave no effort unused, as he valued the welfare and enlightenment of his country and his race, to procure for Russia a release from the secret police, from the ukases of an irresponsible autocrat, from the freezing mines of Siberia, which had been, and continued to be, the living tombs of Russian independence and impatience of a galling and degrading curb? The Tsars forbade politics in their wide dominions, and behold! politics sneered at them from the stage, denounced them in poem and novel, and condemned them in the name of all the canons of good taste in the blameless pages of literary criticism. Surely there must be a very devil in refinement and literature which sooner or later, and generally sooner rather than later, drives full tilt against the regulations of a paternal government and the stupidity of bureaucratic pedants.

The Crimean war broke the heart of the iron Nicholas, and the death of Nicholas opened the doors to all the hopes and aspirations which had been trodden under the autocrat's heel for nearly thirty years. Few periods of history are more attractive than that brief outburst of liberalism which followed the accession of the present Tsar. The ground had been well prepared. The scathing comedy of Gogol, '*The Inspector*,' his still more telling tale, '*The Dead Souls*,' the sketches and novels of Turganieff, had co-operated with Herzen's universally circulated, though universally prohibited, journal, the '*Kolokol*' or '*Bell*' in sapping the last vestiges of reverence in men's minds for the system, which produced such effects as their descriptions laid bare. A travelling salesman for a commercial house is mistaken for the expected 'Revisor' or government inspector in a provincial capital. All the functionaries, in their blind error and panic, pour into the bagman's ear the tale of their rascalities and strive to propitiate the wrath of the higher powers in the usual manner by greasing the palm of the supposed revisor. A knavish speculator taking advantage of the law, which allowed proprietors to mortgage their serfs to a bank up to the sum of 300 roubles each, in order to conduct an intricate and ingenious swindle, forms the subject of Gogol's second comedy. On every estate the official census took place at considerable intervals, and though the number of serfs

might change considerably in the interval, the 'dead souls' were still borne on the steward's books and the master had to pay tax for the dead serfs just as for the live ones. The speculator went about buying the 'dead souls' from the various proprietors and then pretended to settle his purchases on a distant piece of land; whereupon he turned to the banks and raised his mortgages on the human chattels, which he thus seemed to possess. In the course of his traffic the swindler comes into contact with all sorts of high officials and nobles, and the resulting tableau, sketched by the hand of the master play-wright, created an impression, which even Nicholas could not help feeling, bitterly as he disliked the man who scourged the hidden rottenness of his imposing military empire. Herzen, the illegitimate son of a German girl and a Russian gentleman, published his '*Kolokol*' in London, but was supplied with information by secret correspondents in every bureau in the monarchy. The '*Kolokol*' poured across the frontier-barriers in thousands, and nothing could stop the forbidden but all conquering journal. Never was ground better prepared for the sowing of reforms, and hundreds of pens were devoted, as if by magic, to demand the introduction of the most sweeping changes as soon as the accession of Alexander the Second gave the signal for the advent of the expected time, 'the coming day of freedom.'

In the first energy and enthusiasm of that strange uprising, it was hard to say which were the liberals and which the reactionists, for every body was or appeared liberal, and only the discredited generals and 'high officials,' who were hopelessly involved in the break-down of the Nicholaite system, could be still called reactionaries; and they, poor old fossils, would have gladly dubbed themselves radical progressists at least, if the public laughter would only have permitted them. Katkoff and Vuluieff, Leontjeff and Golovnine, the Miliutins and the Tshernitsheffskis, Tolstoi and Nehrassoff, all the men, who were afterwards to distinguish themselves most often from each other by such wide and deep lines, were then confused in one common effort for what the world in general designated by no definite name, but which we may as well call the social and progressive revolution as anything else. It is needless now to go over the history of the events which resulted in the emancipation of the serfs. All the novelists had pointed to the slavery of the masses of the Russian people as the fundamental source of every failing and every drawback. The serfs were emancipated from their masters. At least the general provisions were established according to which forty out of the fifty or fifty-five millions of serfs in Russia have become emancipated during the last fifteen years, but the serf was not emancipated from his subjection to his commune, to his '*Mir*,' his village

and his veritable world. What precise course the emancipation of the serfs would have followed, if nothing had occurred to narrow the judgment of the directing classes and to fill them with blind hate of all that was not Russian of the Russians, it would be unprofitable to speculate. We can here only touch upon some of the characteristics which have developed themselves under actual circumstances.

The turning point in Russian internal progress was undoubtedly the Polish insurrection. The Poles rose in arms to claim for their country some of those national rights which were at least as much the due of Poles as of any other Slavonic stock. At first it seemed as if the result of their bold protest would be the grant of a large part of their demands. The leaders of the advanced liberals at St. Petersburg hardly concealed their delight at the outbreak of a movement, which by introducing freedom into Poland could hardly fail to communicate much of its influence to the progress of Russian affairs. The majority of the governing classes were partly unnerved by the greatness of the danger which threatened the autocratic institution and were partly ashamed to act in open opposition to all the fine theories which had passed current in the best circles for so many years. But there was one man who felt neither fear nor shame, and this was Katkoff of the 'Moscow Gazette.' Boldly declaring that the greatness of Russia was the supreme law, which it was treason and impiety to ignore, he demanded the ruin of Poland as an awful lesson to all enemies of the Muscovite power, as a protest against Europe and Europe's interference, as a means of carrying out the hostilities which the Orthodox Church had vowed against the Catholicism of Rome. It had seemed in the bright years of the Alexandrine era that national exclusiveness and religious bigotry were both doomed before long to disappear from the soil of regenerated Russia. Katkoff boldly invoked the one and the other. 'The Supremacy of the Russian nationality and the destruction of the enemies of the Russian Church,' was his war-cry; and the vigour with which he preached his exterminating creed was all the greater because it was impossible for him to believe in the goodness of what he preached. He had made his election, however. He had resolved that Russia should come out of the contest undiminished and he proclaimed that had the price of her delivery been his own soul a thousand times over, he would not have shrunk from the sacrifice, whilst he called on all true Russians to show similar devotion. There was no resisting that demoniac patriotism. Poland was annihilated, Europe was defied. Russia rose unbroken from the wreck which threatened to overwhelm her. But terrible was the price which Russia paid for the victory. The whips of Mouravieff had cut into more than the white backs of Polish women. The

taste, the sensibility, the thirst for enlightenment and progress had fled, perhaps never to return. The bigot Tolstoi, the gloomy Jacobin Miliutin, the brutal Mouravieff, the gifted Katkoff were all linked together indissolubly from that hour. The spirit of blind fanaticism which had placed the Russian ecclesiastical system at the disposal of the Tsar for the necessary exciting of the national enthusiasm remained triumphant after Poland had ceased to struggle. The Protestants of the Baltic Provinces felt not a little of what had been endured by the Catholics of Warsaw. The whole future of Russian life took once more the colours which it wore under Araktshejeff and Shishkoff. Men who were not naturally chauvinists or bigots placed their brains at the service of national and religious intolerance. The idea of introducing a constitution into Russia was laughed to scorn by the triumphant reaction. It was more loudly proclaimed than ever that the Tsardom was of divine origin and more than human fitness, that an enlightened despotism was necessary to Russia, and that the main badge and token of enlightenment consisted in nationalism of the most thorough type. The men who did not share these ideas, fell into the ranks of the Nihilists, or were irretrievably involved in the disgrace, with which the frenetic genius of Katkoff had crushed the favourers of justice to Poland.

One thing survived the general reaction against the favourite theories of the early years of Alexander the Second. This was the 'Mir'. The Russian village community was in equal favour with the most advanced of the social reformers and with the most circumspect of the conservatives, who contrived to act as a drag on the overhasty progress of the country. It was enough for the retrograde party that the 'Mir' had come down from antiquity. That was a sufficient title to their affections. The predilection of the advanced liberals, the semi-socialists and the out-and-out-socialists was based on different grounds. Looking abroad over Western Europe, they fancied they recognised in the contests between labour and capital, which perplexed and perplex the western nations, the clear consequences of the law of individuality and the license of competition, which exist in those nations. In Russia on the other hand, they saw that not isolated and experimental communities, but the mass of the Russian people have lived according to socialist principles from the dawn of history and before it, and they proclaimed that in Russia, by an astonishing destiny, the 'new formula of civilisation' was also the oldest of all. The illusion in this matter was not, however, to be eternal. A commission to enquire in to the state of the emancipated serfs has declared that the 'Mir' is the permanent obstacle to progress, agricultural and moral.

What remains to the Russian politicians? Afraid to alter the

fundamental conditions of their national society, afraid to let things drift, as they seem to drift, in the direction of socialist republicanism and revolution, they have grasped at the thought of military empire as the one saving hope of their 'Holy Russia.' When Russia, great and triumphant, extends her sway over the hundred millions of the Slav world, and dictates to three continents, it may be safe to attempt a reconstruction of society under the aegis of the omnipotent Tsardom, surrounded with all the prestige and glory of imperishable victory. For twenty years at the beginning of the century Russia leant to liberalism and progress. From the accession of Nicholas, the balance inclined decidedly we may say in the other direction. At the end of another period of semi-liberalism, always allied, however, with the stiff, bureaucratic influences of the Cesaro-papism, the danger of internal reform is once more the predominating thought, and the hope of staving off home troubles which led the third Napoleon to countenance the cry '*à Berlin*' has led the emancipating Tsar to lead off in the shout 'to Constantinople'.

POETRY :—THE COMPLAINT OF THE AFFLICTED CHURCH.

“THIS piece,” says M. Gustave Masson, “is one of the numerous pieces suggested by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It was found a few years ago on the fly-leaf of an old family Bible and published in the “*Bulletin de la Société du Protestantisme Français*, 1853.” The reader will find it in “*La Lyre Française*” (p.p. 8-12) ; and I have great pleasure in referring him to that volume, as no translation can do adequate justice to the pathos and power of the original poem.

Our hearts, O Lord, to Thee look up,
Our cries and groans implore Thine aid,
Behold what clouds our welkin overshadow,
And mark how bitter is our cup.
Take cognizance of all our ills,
And draw us from the frightful precipice,
Before we sink down in the abyss,
And death our clamorous voices stills.

Our poor tribes fugitive afar,
Thine altars everywhere o'erthrown,
Thy torches quenched, Thy flocks dispersed, to moan
In deserts, and without a star ;
Here, consciences no longer free,
There, cherished feelings wronged, and hearts in fears,
And eyes for ever bathed in tears,
All, all, call dolefully on Thee.

Our girls in some sad convent pent,
Our workmen stretched on dungeon-floor,
Our best as martyrs deluged in their gore,
Our preachers to the galleys sent,
Our sick, neglected left to die,
Our dying who the sacraments have not,
Our dead on shambles cast to rot,
Appeal to Thee, look down from high.

'Tis a privilege of Thy Grace
To bend the stubborn human heart,
But sacrilegious man usurps Thy part
And wrongs Thee, Lord, before Thy face.
Not by persuasions mild
But tortures, is the conscience forced,—in ways
Unknown in earlier Christian days,
And so Thy Spirit is reviled.

What cries and lamentations hoarse
 May show our children's sad estate !
 Victims of parents' sins,—unfortunate,
 Plucked from their mothers' breasts by force
 And doomed,—oh woeful destiny !
 To bloody Moloch by inhuman hands,
 And to sin's pains and fatal brands,
 Before they know iniquity.

Ah ! Born in such conditions dire,
 To live in fears from day to day,
 Marked by Remorse's furies as a prey,
 The heralds of eternal ire ;
 And then to die beneath the curse,
 And Christ in the heart to the last resist,
 Yea, live and die as atheist,
 O God, can any fate be worse ?

The tyrants weigh us down with chains,
 One woe succeeds another woe,
 They close up heaven, they open hell below,
 Nor care for God, nor heed our pains.
 Who can withstand these men of blood ?
 They gnash on us like ghouls in saint's gore red,
 They hurl us in the furnace dread,—
 Ah ! that the Angel by us stood !

We had a longing, lingering hope
 That spite the torments that we feel
 A peace would come our mortal wounds to heal,
 But now expectance has no scope.
 Our sins have not permitted peace,
 Thy wrath against our crimes, Thy fearful wrath
 New lions sends across our path
 And our misfortunes never cease.

When all looks dark, behind, before,
 Had we at least, O Lord, Thy Grace,
 We might, assured, have boldly run our race,
 But no, we see Thy Grace no more.
 Ills upon ill press down severe
 Upon us, and Thou deignest not to see ;
 The bricks are doubled by decree,
 But Moses does not yet appear.

Where are Thy favours of the past ?
 Are they, alas ! for ever gone ?
 We loved them, when Thy light upon us shone
 And love them yet, in darkness cast.

We see Thee, Lord, in vengeance raise
Thine arm, but still to Thee for shelter fly,
If in Thy justice we must die,
Our last thought shall that justice praise.

If to consume us be Thy will,
We shall retire within Thy breast ;
Send chains and gibbets, famine, war and pest,
We shall adore and love Thee still.
In fears and ills of every sort
We shall obey Thee, long as reason lasts,
Well knowing that Thy roughest blasts
Lead us but quicker to the port.

May this our firm resolve and faith
Weak brethen help that wisdom lack,
The fallen raise, the wandering bring back,
The timid free from fear of death.
Draw down on us Thy favour, Lord,
And save us also, from foes manifold,
And in our sorrows make us bold,
Through Jesus Christ the Incarnate Word.

Amen.

TORU DUTT.

April, 1877.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

I.—VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

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Calcutta, 1282 B. S. Printed by Jogendra Nath Chaturji.
Economic Press, 35½, Bentinck Street.

WE have some doubts as to the authorship of this little book. The writer seems to possess some knowledge of Sanskrit, a sort of proficiency which we have not yet met with in Hindu girls. And there is other internal evidence to confirm our doubt. But supposing Srimati Pratul Kumari to be the real author of the book before us, we must say that her culture is not of a high order, and her acquaintance with the Bengali language and literature far from accurate or profound. But her book possesses one feature which induces us to overlook much that is faulty and something that is positively reprehensible. One reason why female education is not very favorably looked upon in this country is that many of its recipients imbibe and act up to certain false and mischievous notions regarding the duties and functions of their sex. These educated girls think that there should be no distinction between man and woman, whether within the limited circle of the family or in the wider circle of society. And what they believe in theory they often endeavour to realise in practice—a course of conduct, which produces much domestic friction and great moral and economic disorganisation. The causes which lead to this result are many in number; but it is only necessary for us to state here that the sort of education which is given to Bengali girls is one among them. They are taught history, geography and mathematics, which tell them nothing about what women should be within the domestic sphere or in general society. And when instruction is given to them on this most important point, the teaching consists of a sort of exposition of the doctrine of sexual equality, which is admirably calculated to create the belief that the two sexes are identical in nature and ought to have identical aims in life. It is extremely encouraging to us to find Srimati Pratul Kumari teaching her countrywomen a very sound theory of the relations between the sexes—asking them to confine themselves chiefly within the domestic sphere and so to conduct themselves within that sphere as will prevent dis-

organisation of the family system. We do not agree with Pratul Kumari in all that she says, and some of her views certainly look very old-fashioned. But in the present state of Bengali Society, where the force of the dissolving seems to be greater than the force of the conserving influences, old-fashioned views of social and domestic life are useful in their own way, and ought not to be hastily discarded. If thoroughly revised, *Valika Vodhaka* might form an excellent text-book in Indian girls' schools.

Seh Ki Amár? A Drama. By Rádhá Mádhava Basu, Calcutta : Printed and Published by Bipin Vihari Rai at the Victoria Press, No. 21, Bhaváni Charan Datta's Lane, 1283 B. S.

JUDGED by the rules of dramatic composition, this work is certainly very defective. A dramatic story ought to have three parts—a beginning, a middle and an end ; and these three parts ought to have some connection with each other. This is true of all superior dramas. Not to travel beyond India, we have in Kalidás' *Sakuntala*, first, Dushmanta's marriage with Sakuntala in the hermitage, which forms the beginning of the story. We have, next, Sakuntala's journey to the palace of Dushmanta, in the course of which the fatal ring is dropped in the river and lost. This journey and this loss of the ring constitute the 'middle' of the story. We need not describe the 'end.' But as between this 'beginning' and this 'middle,' the connection is natural, obvious and necessary. The husband having gone away leaving his wife in the hermitage, the wife must perform a journey to join her husband ; and the loss of a ring in a river which has to be crossed in the course of this journey is an event which falls among the casualties of every-day life. But between the 'beginning' and the 'middle' of Babu Radha Madhava's story there is no natural or necessary connection. His 'beginning' is the growth of a strong and delicate attachment between a girl named *Vasanta* and a young man *Shishir*. His 'middle' is the growth of a lustful desire for the same girl in a dissipated youth named Shashishekhar, who endeavours to accomplish his own wicked purpose by poisoning *Shishir's* mind against *Vasanta*. It is clear that this 'middle' does not arise out of this 'beginning.' It is clear that the introduction of the dissipated youth into the story is not the result of any necessity connected with the incipient loves of *Shishir* and *Vasanta*. It should not be thought that this defect in the structure of the plot is but technical and therefore unimportant. One main object of dramatic poetry is to excite in the reader's mind sympathy with all that is fair, virtuous and right, and abhorrence for all that is ugly, sinful and wrong. Now, *Shashishe-*

khara, as he has been painted, does excite our abhorrence. But that abhorrence would have been infinitely greater and *Shashishekhara* would have looked a great deal blacker, if he had been represented to us as playing the devil, not as a self-introduced character, but in the capacity of a trusted agent or confidential adviser. And the strong feeling of disapprobation with which the majority of the villagers regard the idea of a marriage between *Vasanta* and *Shishir* seems to us to afford an excellent opportunity for the employment of such an agent or the introduction of such an adviser. It is thus clear that the doctrine of the 'beginning, middle, and end' is of true dramatic importance, and ought to be carefully studied by all Bengali writers of dramas.

There are many other defects in Babu Rádhá Mádhava's drama. His description of the first loves of *Shishir* and *Vasanta* is not very skilful, and could have been rendered far more effective by a deeper study of such masterpieces as Kalidas's *Sakuntala* and Shakspeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. There is also some defect in the structure of *Shashishekhara's* story, which could have been avoided by a careful study of *Othello*. If Babu Rádhá Mádhava had been well versed in the philosophy of *Othello*, he would have shown us the wicked *Shashishekhara* in the very act of intercepting the letter which enables him to strike down two loving, innocent and enthusiastic hearts, instead of making a third person tell us how that letter was intercepted.

But Babu Rádhá Mádhava is "only in the beginning of his journey." *Sekh Amar*? is his first work. And that work is full of promise. His power of delineating characters which we come across every day of our life is really very remarkable. We think his *Vishahari Thákuráni*, *Harehkrishna Bhattachárya*, *Rám Ballabha*, *Shashishekhara* and *Fatika Chand* are very good photographs from real life; and that villain of a servant who carries letters between *Vasanta* and *Shishir* need not lower his crest before any living specimen of humanity brought from Dhaka, Maimansingha, or Srihatta—or even from Chattogram, if nothing less than that classic land will satisfy the worshipful reader.

Ramani is an exquisitely conceived character. *Kamala* and *Sukeshini* are two female characters representing two interesting stages of domestic civilisation in Bengal. The former is thoroughly old-fashioned; the latter is a compromise, neither very old-fashioned nor very fast-going.

There is considerable pathos towards the conclusion of the drama, and its earlier scenes will give the reader an accurate idea of village life in Bengal in some of its most momentous aspects.

Babu Rádhá Mádhava is not a very prolix writer, and thus contrasts favorably with many other Bengali writers of dramas.

Kavi-Kahini. By Dinesh Charan Basu. Printed by Jadu Náth Rai at the Bharat Mihir Press, Maimansingha : 1876.

THIS is a collection of lyrical poems, some of which are good. The author's principal fault is diffuseness and ignorance of artistic beauty. He is often very extravagant in expression.

The get-up of the book is extremely good, and reflects great credit upon a rural and out-lying district like Maimansingha.

Kavitámálá. By Raj Krishna Mukhopadhaya M. A., B. L. Calcutta; Printed by Bihari Lall Banerji at J. G. Chatterjea & Co.'s Press, 44, Amherst Street. Published by the Sanskrit Press Depository, No. 30, Bechoo Chatterji's Street. 1877.

SOME of the poetical pieces in this book have been reprinted from the *Education Gazette* and *Banga Darsana* and some from books previously published by the author. Babu Raj Krishna has done well in bringing out this reprint. His poetry is not without some serious faults. It lacks eloquence, ease and gracefulness, and above all, that charming flow and lightning brilliance which proceed from inspiration alone. His versification, again, is not very smooth or musical. But in spite of all these defects Babu Raj Krishna's poetry is extremely valuable for its admirable sobriety and thoughtfulness. His style is free from conceit and extravagance, and his sentiments are expressed with all the cautious fervour of a really thoughtful man. In the idealisation of metaphysical thought, Babu Raj Krishna Mukharji seems to stand alone among Bengali poets. The three pieces—*Kal*, *Mahishamardini* and *Vishnu*—are remarkable examples of our poet's power of throwing into a poetical form some of the subtlest and widest generalisations of ancient Hindu thought. This is one noticeable point in Babu Raj Krishna's poetry. There is another point still more important than this. It is now very generally admitted that science has a poetical as well as an intellectual side, and that poetry of science, as being the poetry of demonstrable truth, is poetry of a very superior type. It is, therefore, extremely gratifying to us to find Babu Raj Krishna Mukharji attempting to idealise scientific conceptions. The two pieces entitled 'Surya' and 'Srishti' (the Sun and Creation) are attempts in this direction, and deserve very high praise on account of their being the only attempts yet made in Bengali poetry to bring natural laws and principles within the enchanted domain of the Muses. A third point in the poetry of our author relates to his imitations from English poets. Babu Raj Krishna's imitations, unlike those of other Bengali poets, are not so much imitations as adaptations. He takes ideas from English poets, but illustrates

General Literature.

and works them out in a truly Hindu style. This is one reason why Babu Raj Krishna's 'নিশাকালে বিহঙ্গম রব' seems to us so much better than Babu Hem Chunder's চাতক পক্ষীর প্রতি. Both these pieces are based upon Shelley's 'Skylark.'

The last piece in the book before us is entitled *Yauvanodym*. It is an allegory in 83 Spenserian stanzas. It is a beautiful effort of the imagination, and deserves a longer and more careful notice than we can make room for in this number of the *Review*.

The *Banga Darsana*. Vol. V. Nos. 1 and 2, Baisākhi and Jaistha 1284 B. S. Kāntāpara. Printed and published by Raadh Nath Bandopadhaya at the Banga Darsana Press, 1877.

WE are exceedingly glad to notice the re-appearance of this excellent Bengali periodical. It is, however, no longer under the editorship of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji. We think Babu Bankim Chandra has absconded from the editor's quarters for fear of being brought up on a warrant to pay the costs of the injunction which we lately obtained against him.

We are sorry we have neither time nor space to notice these two numbers at any length. We can only say that the new series is being conducted with very great ability, and would not suffer by comparison with the series which has preceded it.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Materia Medica of the Hindus ; compiled from Sanscrit Medical Works. By Uday Chand Dutt, Civil Medical Officer. With *A Glossary of Indian Plants*, By George King, M. B., F. L. S., (Superintendent of the Royal Botanical Garden, Calcutta), and the Author. Thacker, Spink and Co.: Calcutta: 1877.

THIS work forms a most valuable contribution to the history of Drugs, and will be found both useful and interesting by every student of Medicine. Nor is it without interest to the general reader, to whom the descriptions will be perfectly intelligible. The work is a compilation from many authors, and is arranged somewhat upon the plan of Waring's *Manual of Therapeutics*. In the first part Dr. Dutt has given an account of the mineral medicines used by the Hindus, the mode in which they are prepared for use, their chemical composition, and the principal combinations in which they are employed in different diseases. In the part treating of vegetable medicines, the correct scientific names of the plants have been obtained, by procuring the drugs through practising *kavirajes* or native physicians, and then hav-

ing them identified in the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta. The numerous prescriptions given are stated to be in common use amongst native physicians; doubtless our English doctors will be able to derive some valuable hints from these recipes, which may be presumed to be founded on the traditional practice of ages. A still more important advantage that European doctors will derive from Dr. Dutt's publication, will be felt when they are called in (as often happens) to attend a patient who has long been under native treatment: they will be able to understand the line of treatment that has been previously adopted, far more clearly than has hitherto been the case—and will of course be able more intelligently to shape their own treatment accordingly.

The Glossary of Indian plants that concludes the volume, affords one more illustration of the valuable results that must always follow on a combination of skilled European and Native labour on such subjects. There are many similar publications in existence, but they are for the most part defective or obsolete. The combined work of Dr. Dutt and Dr. King has produced a most valuable contribution to the botanical science of the world.

The Church of Thibet, and the Historical Analogies of Buddhism. A Lecture delivered before the Student's Literary and Scientific Society in the Framji Cowasji Institution, Bombay. By W. Wordsworth, B. A., Principal of Elphinstone College. Bombay: Thacker, Vining and Co.: 1877.

THIS unassuming little volume, published only in pamphlet form, contains the best and clearest account of the history and present condition of Thibetan Buddhism that we have ever seen. Professor Wordsworth is well known as a conscientious and laborious investigator; and though we cannot always follow him in all his conclusions, we cannot but acknowledge the great value of the admirable monograph before us. To indicate in detail the points wherein we differ from his conclusions would require more space than we can give to a brief critical notice. We shall very probably return to the subject, in which case we hope to be able to devote an article to the discussion. In the meantime we must content ourselves with giving one or two extracts as specimens of the thoughtful and scholarly way in which Mr. Wordsworth has dealt with his interesting theme. We will first give a few sentences in which he describes briefly the present condition of the Thibetan hierarchy:—

The administration of the country, which is almost exclusively in the hands of the clerical order, has a close resemblance to that of the Roman states under the sovereignty of the Popes. One branch of the ecclesiastical

order appears to devote itself more particularly to the affairs of Government. The other has a larger share of religious devotion and regard. The "incarnate" members of the clergy—for incarnation is by no means confined to the two Pontiffs—are naturally ill-fitted for practical affairs, as from their infancy they are treated as beings of a semi-divine nature, and are thus excluded from learning anything from experience. The non-incarnate monks, on the contrary, have an open chance of rising to high influence and office by their talents or acquisitions. The really influential rulers are thus often hid from sight, and, like the subtle powers who pull the strings which move the infallible teacher in Rome, are content with the substance without the show of power. The organization and discipline of the cloisters are of a very elaborate character, and the several grades and offices are classified and distributed with much of that sagacity which has distinguished the Jesuit and other Catholic orders. Their wealth in real estate is considerable, and they have a truly exhaustless fund in the devotion of the people. As a matter of course, there are sacramental offices in connection with all the chief events of life, for which fees or liberal gratuities are expected. Literature, education, the arts of healing and printing are all in monastic hands, and are all employed to increase the devotional temper of the people, and keep their attention steadily fixed on the supernatural end of life. Above all other lands Thibet is a land of prayer, of pilgrimages, of almost ceaseless worship. The very labourers in the field, the shepherd with his flocks, the girl on her way to draw water from the well, have leisure for prayer, and seem to find in this occupation their chief solace in the blank monotony of life. The various ingenious instruments which have been invented for the manufacture, as it were, of prayer, have often been described. It is probable that the Catholic Church is indebted, with other things, to her elder sister for the rosary. It is difficult to speak with absolute certainty of the moral result of this extraordinary discipline. The consequences of keeping a whole people in a state of eternal childhood must of course vary considerably with other circumstances. Where there are few temptations, where the intellect remains almost wholly dormant, and the spirit of unquestioning faith has received no shocks from any collision with societies cast in a different type, it is possible that the results of a merely negative morality may offer some points of favourable comparison with the moral phenomena of more improved societies; though it is also probable that a closer examination would show that even this apparent superiority was delusive. If the only true end of man is to obtain deliverance from this body of death, and not rather to build up a social order on earth in which his highest moral conceptions may find a growing satisfaction, it may be conceded that the Thibetan Church has struck on the right path, and would do well to keep to it.

The following is a summary of some of the thoughts and conclusions suggested by the discussion of the whole subject, to Mr. Wordworth's mind. In an early number we will endeavour to point out some other thoughts and some other conclusions, which seem to us to be equally derivable from the remarkable analogies and the interesting incidents dwelt on in this delightful little book:—

Sacerdotal organizations like the Thibetan hierarchy, with their imposing array of supernatural motives, have often been excellent instruments of moral discipline. They have united and humanized tribes whom barbarism and wild superstitions had kept asunder. They have made the imagination

for a time, the ally or servant of the practical reason. They have opened a wide field to intellectual speculations, and invited the reason to co-operate with them, under certain restrictions, in their difficult task. In this way they have nobly served civilization; and yet civilization in the end has generally been hindered by them, or has come into collision with them, and has been forced to defend herself against them, to disarm them, or to break altogether with them. The explanation of this fact is no longer the secret of a few. In our day it is the secret of all the world. Civilization is founded on reason; and on reason has been thrown the onerous task of distinguishing firmly between the known and the unknowable, between the accessible and the inaccessible, the real and the fantastic. The foundations of rational progress are never really secure when this distinction is overlooked or disputed. But the basis of these great sacerdotal organizations, in the last analysis, is found to be emotion or phantasy, and hence arises an irreconcilable opposition both of methods and ends. The conflict is no merely theoretical one. It penetrates into daily life; it underlies the most anxious political problems of modern Europe; it can have no satisfactory solution so long as human nature is divided against itself; so long as inconsistent and contradictory methods are allowed in the most closely allied departments of our practice and knowledge.

There is one farther reflection, with which I conclude. No sincere human effort, ~~we~~ ^{no} may hope, is wholly wasted. In some way or other,—so experience seems to suggest,—it is realized and turned to account for the service of man. In studying history we are often inclined to murmur that the prayers and tears of so many generations should have been so fruitlessly wasted; that men should have died, and, alas, also inflicted death on others, for such irrational causes; or perhaps we fear that all is at an end when the form is at an end,—that there is no hope for religions after death. Still, in spite of these misgivings, the best minds of our time believe that religion is destined to transform itself, and will continue, under new conditions and limitations, to regulate, or at least accompany, the moral evolution of our race. The greatest poets of our own and the last generation have held this faith; and poets see the dawn of the new day on the mountain-tops long before it is visible to others.

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